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GANDA CLASSIFICATION

An ethno-semantic survey

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G A N D A C L A S S I F I C A T I O N

An ethno-semantic survey

PROMOTOR

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An ethno-semantic survey

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P R E F A C E

The motivation for this study finds its origin as far back as 1958, in the inlands of East-Africa, where I spent a considerable part of my adult life amongst Bantu as well as Nilotic people.

There the interest in the inhabitants and their well-being fostered the study of their languages as a necessary tool for a better understanding of their ways and means of life and partly as a means for identification with members of a group.

Mastering the language was attempted after a fashion, mostly by way of trial and error, improving a little as the years went by, but never so much as to reach the level of knowledge or proficiency so proverbial with people for whom language is much more than a means of communication only.

After a period of acculturation, my task mainly came to be with Bantu-speaking communities and hence the scope of this study. As my vocabulary increased, it was duly coded on paper and after the edition of Snoxall's Luganda Dictionary in 1967, minutely chequed and improved considerably. Thus any omissions, mistakes or faulty descriptions otherwise, are entirely to be credited to my own shortcomings.

The entire complicated issue of accentuation and phonetics, however important otherwise, have been omitted as being non-relevant for the purpose of this study, as well as other grammatical constructions, apart from the system of nouns.

It goes without saying that my gratitude extends to all those people, old and young, who stimulated my effort, who never grew tired nor ever gave up teaching and correcting me, in their pleasant way so fashionable with them.

The same applies to those people outside Africa, who pointed out to me, with equal patience I hope, how the gathered material could be used for further study and understanding.

The crux appeared to be a correct marcation of the borders between the disciplines involved, but then a possible trespass was condoned by Kroeber's remark that: "If linguists are working on higher problems and do not want to be bothered with this rather elementary sort of classification, that is fair enough. But let them at least occasionally allow their assistants to assemble the data for a competent classification or aid an ethnologist with basic linguistic grounding to go ahead with it, since it is so important to students of culture".¹

1) A.L. Kroeber. "Concluding Review"
An appraisal of Anthropology to-day.
eds. S. Tax. L.C. Eisely. J. Rouse.
Chicago 1953.

2. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

2.1 ON THE SITUATION

It is correct to say that an anthropological study on the basis of linguistic phenomena concerns the relationship which exists between language and culture, however vague this statement may be. As early as the beginning of the 17th century, Francis Bacon already maintained that conclusions could be drawn about the mentality and culture of a group of speakers on the basis of their language. (cf. Wald. 1978:392).

Since then the problem of semantic content of linguistic categories has been the object of many studies: cf. Meinhof 1948; Westerman 1935, 1947; Kähler-Meyer 1952, 1956; Manessy 1962, 1965; Alexandre 1953; Boas 1940, 1966; Greenberg 1948, 1955, 1957; Goodenough 1956, 1957; Levi-Strauss 1958, 1963; Pike 1954, 1960; Firth 1957; Mauss 1923; Sapir 1949, 1964; Whorf 1956, 1964; Hoyer 1953, 1962; Mathiot 1962 and many others.

The intention of this paper is not simply to ask whether such relations exist between language and culture, which in fact may be taken for granted, but rather to examine what these relations are and how they can be traced.

It seems that interrelations between language and other aspects of culture are so close that hardly any part of the culture of a society can be studied without some reference to the linguistic symbols used in that community¹.

Since the essence of linguistics really lies in its pursuit for meaning,² it stands to reason that the more cultural proceedings are refined, the more this will be reflected in linguistic terms, expressed in the precision of statement essential to the systematic nature of linguistics.

The language concerned in this paper is Luganda, one of a group of Bantu languages spoken in Uganda.

The term Bantu is a generic term for a family of approximately 200 separate languages, apart from the dialects.

(cf. Greenberg 1963; Guthrie 1948, 1967; Fodor 1966; Tucker and Brian 1956, 1966). These Bantu languages and their dialects extend across the greater part of the African Continent.

In Uganda, according to the last census taken in 1959,

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- 1) The idea is in terms of Fabre d'Olivet's thesis who thought in an anthropological and not simply in a grammatical way; to him, speech was not a faculty exalted on its own perch, but something to be understood in the light of human behaviour and culture, of which it was a part, specialized but involving no different principle from the rest.
The vocal sign (phoneme) was a highly specialized gesture or symbolic act, language a development of total somatic behaviour becoming symbolic and then diverting its symbolism more and more into the vocal channel".
(Whorf. A linguistic consideration of thinking. in Hymes 1964:135).
 - 2) "Meaning in this context must be understood as a collection of senses making up its lexical entry. A lexical entry consists of at least one sense. A sense is the representation of (one of) the meaning(s) of a lexical item". (Aarts 1976:11).

33,6% of the total population of native speakers, have a Bantu language as a first language. These languages are Luganda, Lusoga, Lumasaba, Lugwere, Lunyole and Lusamia, of which Luganda is the language understood by the largest percentage of the country i.e. 39%, of which 16% as a first language. (cf. Ladefoged 1972:25).

During the period of British rule, in which the Baganda³ maintained their traditional power and influence, the status of their language took on the position as a language of administration. The reason for this was the agreement of 1900 between the British Empire and the Kingdom of Buganda. This agreement ensured a special status for Kiganda practices and political institutions, resulting in a monopoly for the Baganda as colonial agents.⁴ Nevertheless for many Ugandans, Luganda remained an alien language, the use and practice of which depended to a great extent on the power and achievements of the Baganda Themselves.

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- 3) When referring to the people of Uganda the prefix Ba will be used, for example: Baganda (pl) and Muganda (sg). The language of the Baganda is indicated by the prefix Lu, and the customs and objects of the society by Ki, for example: Kiganda practices, a kiganda drum etc. The county will be referred to by Bu, for example: Buganda.
 - 4) For historical details see: Kiwanuka 1972; Davidson 1971; Fallers 1956, 1964.
 - 5) A detailed survey of the language situation in Uganda was carried out by: P. Ladefoged, R. Glick and C. Criper in 1968.
 - 6) see appendix I

In practice this meant that for a population of approximately 9 million, divided by more than 30 languages, information could not flow freely in all directions and that the average person in Uganda could get information about events outside his own group only through a foreign language.⁵

Of the characteristics of the Bantu languages in general, two features serve as the hallmark of this family: the system of noun prefixes and the system of concords.⁶

In the system of concords every word in a sentence is grammatically related to a noun, whether it be a pronoun, an adjective, possessive or verb.

The relationship is indicated by a prefixal formative⁷ which agrees with the noun prefix. Every class of nouns possesses a full set of these concords, usually the same or similar in appearance as the noun prefix, thus producing a musical and poetical effect in the pronunciation of the language.

For example: abaana bange bonna bagenze: all my children have gone. Ekintu kino kirungi: This thing is beautiful. The system of prefixes and its classification will be described in detail in this paper and the lexical invent-

7) Flectional and derivative suffixes and prefixes used in forming words. For a Full enumeration see appendix I.

8) Concept: Idea of a class of objects, a general notion. "... The denotata of a sign system may be anything whatever: individuals, sets, relations, concrete or abstract, possible or impossible. They are objects in the general philosophical sense of the word, not in the sense of concrete tangible things". (Bunge 1974:26).

ory of the categories will be inspected in the hope of finding a correspondence between them.

After all it is possible to investigate nouns lexically and the expectation of finding correlates with specific and therefore ascertainable features of the culture seems feasible, all the more since a limited quantity of data is to be dealt with.

Thus through considering differences and similarities amongst apparently simple concepts⁸, as expressed by nouns, it may be possible to get to the more complicated concepts such as life-styles, values, world-view and other aspects of culture⁹, all of which are part of the scope of anthropology.

It is the verdict of modern history that the past of Africa and especially that of the Baganda, is a long and equally interesting one and in a way contains a record of highly succesful development. (cf. Davidson 1971; Fallers 1964; Kiwanuka 1972).

In order to illustrate this record, information about the most fundamental structure of reality is required.¹⁰

This information about reality, as experienced in Kiganda

9) "World-view is clearly part of culture, is related to choices and reflects an ideal. It is a difficult term to use and to operationalize. (Jones 1972, Szalay and Maday 1973, Szalay and Bryson 1973). Values are part of a world-view and are easier to identify. Life-style is a guide for behaviour, giving orientation to values". (Welte 1976:449).

10) By the structure of reality is meant:
"the arrangements by which an orderly social life is maintained". (Harris 1969:517).

society, occurs on a level of abstraction.¹¹ It does not then seem unreasonable to assume that one of the ways in which such information about the structure of reality is obtained, is by means of a study of the structure of the language through which one speaks about this reality.

One of the most significant traits of both cultural and linguistic phenomena is that both are structured and not merely an agglomeration of non-related items, and moreover that this structure is embedded in distinctive features.¹² It should be kept in mind that although the structure may be regarded as part of reality, it will not always be observable or even empirically accessible. "It has to be discovered by setting up and elaborating theoretical models....the structures constitute a level of reality underlying the contingent, visible social relationships". (de Lauretis 1978:84).

This reality, signified by words, has a meaning only in as much as it is sustained in this signification by all

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- 11) Level of abstraction and degree of abstraction are used indiscriminately.

"Abstractio mentalis in genere seu praecisiva est consideratio unius nihil considerando de alio. Est partialis seu formalis si non consideratur nisi pars quaedam essentiae, ut in homine rationalitas, vel tota essentia sed sine subjecto, ut humanitas; est totalis si essentia consideratur in subjecto et cum subjecto, sed sine conditionibus individuandis, ut homo". (S.Th., Ia, q. 85, a. I, ad I).

- 12) In this context features are to be regarded as "semantic constructs which serve as labels for categories of concepts, ranging from very general to very specific". (cf. Aarts 1976:18).

the other words and as such the only reality is the Gestalt of language. (cf. Merleau-Ponty 1962:92).

The fact that there exists a relationship in one way or another between language and culture and the fact that similarities and differences in the one correlate with the same in the other, may be ascribed to the same human intellect which in the course of time unconsciously conceived the structure of both.¹³

Since forms of social life cannot be classified in species and genera, like in the natural sciences, it is obvious that the enlisted items are to be considered as members of a class precisely because they approximate a prototype.

Natural sciences concentrate on symbols of things which they can empirically verify. In the human sciences one proceeds in a different degree of abstraction, by working on symbols of symbols. Up till now no procedures are sufficiently developed to judge the adequacy of the representing to the represented symbols. (Levi-Strauss 1971:574; Rossi 1973:219).

One of the objectives a researcher can hope to achieve in this matter is to trace relationships and to indicate similarities and differences.

"Here anthropology is deeply involved, especially in delimiting community or local culture, since one of the deepest impulses towards community solidarity derives from

13) "Langue et culture sont deux modalités parallèles d'une activité plus fondamentale.....l'esprit humain". (Levi-Strauss 1958. *Anthropologie structurale*. Paris).

the element of mutual intelligibility obtainable through a common language". (Durkheim 1938:73). An examination of this relation between language and culture will reveal a conceptual framework in which the various forms of customary behaviour fit. One proceeds as it were from culture to language by examining the linguistic content of cultural classes.¹⁴

By means of a longitudinal study within a culture it will be possible to point out an internal consistency which would otherwise be lost as for example in a cross-cultural approach.

Linguistics seem equally involved, since linguistic processes and phenomena provide an image of cultural phenomena. The procedure is then from language to culture by examining the cultural content of linguistic classes. The method chosen in this paper will be a combination of both procedures, in which the latter will take the leading part. Language generally indicated as a structured system of oral communication not only serves to facilitate human social organization but as a rule also indicates this organization.¹⁵

"....Both structuralist literary theory and semiotics are based on the notions of formal organization and symbolic representation as seminal to the analysis of meaning-pro-

14) These cultural classes must be understood in relation to abstract characteristics of culture, as a classification of experiences.

15) Language as a structured system of oral communication was defined as such by Gleason. (Gleason 1955).

ducing systems....rearranged and presented in a coherent, far-reaching interrelatedness". (de Lauretis 1977:85).

In an attempt to trace the interrelation between features in the various categories of the Lugandan nominal classification, the following procedure was chosen:

- a) The collection of the available lexical items¹⁶, in casu nouns, and a differentiation between these items by means of a prefixal formative as an indication of a grammatical class. In other words by means of a morphological criterion.

The sources upon which this enterprise is based are to be found in the experiences, memories and written observation over a period of many years of continuous participation in Bantu-speaking communities within East-Africa.

This was followed up by re-checking the data with the available sources in literature, as cited in footnotes.

- b) The possible discovery of meaning as conveyed by class-affiliation and the delimiting in as far as possible of the range of the various semantic fields¹⁷ by means of the natives linguistic usage, i.e. by means of a cultural criterion.

16) "Lexical items of the language must not be confused with features (i.e. theoretical constructs) although the majority of features are homophonous with lexical items". (cf. Bierwisch 1970:169).

17) "Sets of meaning are traditionally said to belong to the same semantic field".
(Ohman 1953, Lyons 1968, in Marshal 1978:24).

This approach was inspired by the fact that common nouns do contain some descriptive meaning, sense or connotation. (Bach 1968:90).

In this way both intellectualism (rationalism) and empiricism¹⁸ is refuted by simply stating that the word has a meaning. (Merleau-Ponty 1962:177).

"To say that the word has a meaning is to say that the meaning is embodied in words and speech, in the same way as it is embodied in behaviour and perception. Words express meaning in the way the body expresses intentions and behaviour expresses projects, that is, by symbolizing them and hence realizing them". (Merleau-Ponty 1962:43).

The fact that the domains are specified in this way indicates an etic¹⁹ imposition, since the discrete

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- 18) "Rationalism is an opinion which considers reason and not experience as the only valid source of knowledge and is as such opposed to empiricism. Empiricism advocates the opinion that perception is the source and the ultimate test of all knowledge. (H. Reichenbach. 1951:78). Since the camera of the senses can photograph only sensory objects existing in space and time...empiricists do not admit any supersensory reality". (Sorokin 1956:280).
- 19) Kenneth Pike set up his now famous dichotomy of emic and etic approaches. "An etic analytical standpoint...might be called 'external' or 'alien' since for etic purposes the analyst stands 'far enough away' from or 'outside' of a particular culture to see its separate events, primarily in relation to their similarities and their differences, as compared to events in other cultures, rather than in reference to the sequences of classes of events within that particular culture". (Pike 1954:10).

ordering we see in nature and human activity is assumed as universal. (cf. Knight 1977:194).

- c) The possible discovery of an hierarchical structure amongst the classes, based on prevailing value-orientation.

As mentioned above, the intention is the tracing of an interrelated system between culture and language.

Luganda itself shows the way in a peculiar fashion and yet it is not the language itself but the responses of men to their environment which determine the underlying semantic categories. (cf. Groen and Millward 1978:429); (Bendix 1966; Bierwisch 1967; Fillmore 1971).

It is also assumed that in using an emic²⁰ approach, fruitful work may be done with regard to the way in which a particular society structures its universe, thus possibly contributing to theory formation of related disciplines without deciding precisely in what field. After all culture may be looked upon as containing categorizations of which the members of a community may be aware and outsiders not. As such language is a reliable source of information since the various experiences codable in a language system are readily available to those using the system.

20) "An emic approach is in essence valid only for only one language (or one culture) at a time....It is an attempt to discover and to describe the pattern of that particular language or culture in reference to the way in which the various elements of that culture are related to each other in the functioning of the particular pattern, rather than an attempt to describe them in reference to a generalized classification derived in advance of the study of that culture". (Pike 1954:8).

This information, however, does not necessarily mean to be complete and exhaustive, how reliable it may be otherwise since language is only a part of culture.

The approach is undertaken along the directives of the ethnosemanticists²¹, who are generally more concerned with the cognitive processes of the people rather than with the mere application of pre-arranged principles coming from another cultural sphere.

For ethnosemanticists, linguistic models should point the way for all cultural analysis: "Language can be said to be a condition of culture because the material out of which language is built is of the same type out of which the whole culture is built: logical relations, oppositions, correlations and the like". (Levi-Strauss 1963:68).

This view is equally supported by Fraake who states that: "...linguistics is but a special case of ethnography since its domain of study, speech messages, is an integral part of the larger domain of socially interpretable acts and artifacts.

21) "Ethnosemantics may be defined as consisting of those branches of the study of symbols, particularly linguistic symbols, which deal primarily with the meanings of such symbols. If all symbols, rather than just linguistic symbols, are included in the following, the definition offered by M.Pei and F.Gaynor serves very well: "a science dealing with the relations between referents and referends - linguistic symbols (words, expressions, phrases) and the objects or concepts to which they refer - and the history and changes in the meanings of words".
('Semantics' in : A dictionary of Linguistics. New York : Philosophical library 1954).

It is this total domain of messages, including speech, that is the concern of the ethnographer". (Frake 1964:133). The human mind possesses an organising capacity to synthesize the order in nature and the order existing in culture. In this process, the categories present in the language spoken by the individual play an important part, since they represent sensory perceptions as an organized system. The human being then looks upon the world as an organized totality. Yet there is an unlimited number of possibilities of coming into contact with this organised system which is another way of explaining the extraordinary diversity in human culture.

2.2 ON CLASSIFICATION

"So from the soil Jahweh God fashioned all the wild beasts and all the birds of heaven. These He brought to man to see what he would call them. Each one was to bear the name that man would give it". (Gen I.13).

"Anthropology has from the beginning been a comparative science of resemblances and varieties existing between peoples and their cultures". (Sarana 1977:278). If this statement is true, however broad a definition it may be, than a suitable means to reach this end of anthropology is by one of the most fundamental cultural instruments, namely language.

From the many instances in literature¹ it appears that every speech community² has a conception of the world different from that of others and that resemblances and varieties are both realized in their culture and revealed in their language.

In this way language will be regarded as an instrument for dividing a particular world into categories and concepts in order to make this world understandable.

Similarity and difference, by its very nature, implicate comparison and the result thereof necessarily some sort

1) Bloomfield 1933; Boas 1940; Sapir 1949; Kluckhohn 1964; Whorf 1956; White 1959; Hoyer 1962; Levi-Strauss 1966; Bright 1966; Lounsbury 1969; Mandler 1970.

2) The maximal group of persons who normally reside together in face-to-face association. (Murdock 1950: 93). "A speech community is one, all of whose members share at least a single speech variety and the norms for its appropriate use". (Fishman 1970:28).

of setting apart, of classification.

Any classification, whether it be of concrete objects or of abstracta³, is essentially nothing more than a collection of items or concepts, divided into smaller formations by means of the application of certain principles. To determine such a principle which is generally applicable to a class of objects, means have to be established by which such a distinction between the intended objects and all other objects becomes evident.

The most obvious way to do so is by way of a criterion which indicates the dimensions of a certain class of objects on the basis of its morphological appearance.⁴

Within the classes set by this criterion, a selection in-

3) "The term object should be considered to include not only physical objects, but also events, actions, properties, abstract ideas (including concepts) or classes of any of these". (Aarts 1976:12).

4) "A morphological criterion concerns the smallest meaningful parts of language i.e. the morphemes. One way of studying morphemes is to divide them into roots and prefixes, in which the root carries the basic meaning and the prefix modifies this meaning. In this way plurality is also designated by the prefix". (Bock 1969:38-39).

"A language contains a set of meaningful forms (morphemes) themselves composed of meaningless sound types (phonemes) and entering into various combinations in accordance with the rules of its grammar. The meaningful forms (morphemes) may themselves be roots, in which case they are normally assigned to the lexicon, or non-roots (affixes) with derivational or inflectional grammatical function, in which case their description is part of the grammar. In either instance they involve both sound and meaning". (Greenberg 1957:35).

to various other categories takes place in order to differentiate between members of one class. Other criteria are then established which indicate the difference between the objects themselves within their class. These criteria are inspired by the nature of the objects themselves i.e. by their inherent qualities. They are cultural criteria, based on observable, interpretable characteristics.

"The criterion for choosing one decision over the other is 'opposition' i.e. functional opposition. It is only the features carrying distinctive functions that are to be specified in a statement of linguistic meaning".

(Ikegami 1977:70).

The motives on which the choice of characteristic features depends must be observed against the background of the people who use and generate the language, since one may assume that the native's classification is the only valid one.

The outcome of this process i.e. which differences or similarities are preferred or stressed, is often though not always exclusively expressed in language as an exponent

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- 5) "There exists, however, a second mode of assimilation, as part of the cognitive process, existing side by side with language, namely paralanguage, as amplifiers of human ratiocinative capacities". (Brunner 1966:56).
 - 6) "Hence, the concept of Culture, regardless of the objects involved, necessarily becomes a criterion of a society's system of value judgment. It means that the standard for distinguishing culture phenomena happens to depend directly upon the value orientation of the person making the choice". (Markarian 1977:103).

of human thought.⁵

In this respect it seems logical to assume that language structures and classifies phenomena, in a mapping based on the way in which people consolidate their world of experience from the way they talk about it.

Our experience of the world is based on the fact that we classify phenomena as we observe them. This classification is a process of the mind and as such refers to a different degree of reality than the objects themselves.⁶

"The background linguistic system....is not merely a reproducing instrument....but rather is itself the shaper of ideas, the program and guide for the individual's mental activity, for his analysis of his impressions, for his synthesis of his mental stock in trade". (Whorf 1956: 169).

The implication of this must be a summation of all or nearly all of the objects or groups of them in order to acquire an insight into a particular culture, since culture is an abstract concept for this complex of phenomena.⁷ An enumeration in this matter is by its very nature always incomplete and perhaps inadequate. Nonetheless it is necessary since it indicates the various components of that cul-

7) "The sources of the concept 'culture' originate in classical antiquity. But it was only in the eighteenth century that it was formulated as an abstract notion". (Markarian 1977:103)

8) "The question is whether some initial order can be introduced into the universe by means of these groupings. Classifying as opposed to not classifying has a value of its own, whatever form the classification may take". (Levi-Strauss 1972:9).

ture and the existing order within it,⁸

Many anthropologists with an interest in linguistics have successfully used the method of analysing lexicons to discover this order and to learn more about the cultures they studied. To name a few: H. Haugen 1957, on spatial and temporal orientation; studies of R.W. Brown 1954, H.C. Conklin 1955, H.J. Landar 1960, M. Ervin 1960, A.E. Horowitz 1960, E.H. Lenneberg and J.M. Roberts 1961 on colour terminologies. R.W. Brown and A. Gillman 1960, H.C. Conklin 1962, D. Thomas 1955 on pronominal categories and ethnobotanical taxonomies. C.O. Frake 1961 on diseases and many authors on kinship systems, such as W. Goodenough 1956, F.G. Lounsbury 1956, A. Wallace 1960. Simpson remarks that: "Scientists do tolerate uncertainty and frustration, because they must. The only thing they do not and must not tolerate is disorder. The whole aim of theoretical science is to carry to the highest possible and conscious degree the perceptual reduction of chaos that began in so lowly and (in all probability) unconscious a way with the origin of life. In specific instances it can well be questioned whether the order so achieved is an objective characteristic of the phenomena or is an artifact constructed by the scientist.

-
- 9) "It seems likely that the logical operations underlying principles of ordering are finite and universal, but capable of generating an infinite number of possible specific orderings". (Tyler 1969:14).
Moreover any classification is superior to chaos and even a classification on the basis of sensible properties is a step towards rational ordering.
(cf. Levi-Strauss 1972:15).

The question comes up time after time....nevertheless the most basic postulate of science is that nature itself is orderly". (Simpson 1961:5).

Any way of thinking and consequently of science is founded on this demand for order.⁹

Presence of fuzziness and overlap between various classes and categories is self-evident, since in reality there are no clear-cut borders. Life is not divided like this.¹⁰

As previously stated, the procedure followed in this paper with respect to the lugandan nouns is based on a classification by means of a linguistic criterion or by its place in the system of concords. The division within the classes is provided on the basis of a cultural principle. For the time being the existence of these principles must be assumed. They will be demonstrated empirically at a later stage.

A combination of both ways of classifying seems most suitable since it provides an adequate expression of what is intended whereas obscurity and incompleteness in the one system may be complemented by evidence from the other.

Since language is yet an exclusively human phenomenon it is as such constantly subjected to change.¹¹

Patterns of thought, however, as a principle of communication, expressed in language will usually remain static

10) "Everything occurs as though the classification, which is in the domain of thought, authorizes fuzziness and overlap while the nomenclature, which belongs to the domain of communication would like to avoid them". (Lemaitre 1977:181).

for a long time. This renders a logical deduction possible, in this case a classification of these patterns of thought by means of lexicographic data. As such language is a conservator of knowledge lagging some way behind any change in behaviour.

The objective of classification is to establish some order in a world of experience, which varies from culture to culture and from the one person to another.¹²

Man is constantly subjected to a sequence of sensory experiences and the use of selected words presupposes order and stability in these experiences. In other words the employment of words presupposes abstract ordering.

As it happens that some features are peculiar to a particular culture, it is obvious that these features cannot

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- 11) "For scholars such as Sapir (1936), Whorf (1956) and Pike (1954, 1955, 1960) language is not a self-contained system; its behavioral aspects are closely related to linguistic aspects, and it is viewed as being only one part of a larger totality of structured human behaviour. On the one hand, language is inextricably integrated into other aspects of this behaviour totality, and, on the other hand, language constitutes a significant part of this total behaviour. Because language is considered to be related to other aspects of behaviour, and because the totality of structured human behaviour is what culture is, language is then closely related to culture". (Liem 1978:287).
 - 12) "A category is any general concept used for its power to confer some order to a system, or at least to an aggregate of other concepts of lesser generality, either in every-day life, or in scientific inquiry or in both". (Rossi-Laudi 1977:392).
 - 13) "Different orientations and foci of interests call for different types of explanation". (Goh 1970:340).

easily be transferred into another language except with the assistance of more description and adequate explanation.¹³

Firth considers classification a systematic ordering of types and analysis an identification of the elements of a phenomenon. He considers these to be far ahead of explanation and prediction, in the sense that the aim of explanation, that is describing and functionalizing, is understanding, grasping the relation between various facts and objects.¹⁴

The specific and distinctive qualities of a class of data are however retained and serve as the basis for this understanding. (cf. Firth 1955:32).

It must be understood that classification as used in this

14) On the topic of explanation and understanding Scriven writes that: "Explanations must produce understanding not knowledge. What is scientific explanation? It is a topically unified communication, the content of which imparts understanding of some scientific phenomena....What is understanding? Understanding is roughly, organized knowledge i.e. knowledge of the relations between various facts and/or laws. These relations are of many kinds - deductive, inductive, analogical etc - but understanding is deeper, more thorough, the greater the span of this relational knowledge". (Scriven 1962:224-225).

15) In other words, as a folk-taxonomy associated with plans for action in as far as what one can or should do with a given kind of e.g. a plant: edible, poisonous, used for making string, baskets, cloth, ingredient, medicine.

"A folk-taxonomy is the grouping of entities in terms of the category labels given to them by the culture, rather than by the observer's common sense or scientific knowledge". (Conklin 1962:13).

paper is not to be regarded as a scientific taxonomy but rather a way of listing living forms, objects and abstracta, as shared by most members of a community.¹⁵

Thus members are able to identify and communicate about things which are relevant for them, by means of this classification. This is essential for a researcher who wishes to understand how people construe their world of existence. (cf. Frake 1962:74).

"The heart of the matter is that cultural categories are lexically expressed, not automatically, but selectively. The relation between cultural categories and language is problematic. In a particular culture a language serves as a sort of 'meta-language', a cultural way of communicating about much, but not all of the culture. Thus the modified question, to what extent and in what ways is a language an index of its associated culture, should be of considerable interest". (Hymes 1964:167).

As previously stated, prefixes such as used in the lugandan system of concords, are used as classifiers of the nouns they are applied to, As such, distinctions are drawn by means of linguistic signs.¹⁶

It must be observed that these linguistic signs do not so much nominate the objects within the world, or express

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- 16) It must be noted, as Ikegami has stated that:
"The functions of linguistic items as 'signs' are not uniform. Some may evoke a mental image whilst some others may not. Some may refer to a concrete thing, while some others will not". (Ikegami (1977:71). This subject is extensively indicated in Morris' classification of signs into: identifiers, designators, appraisers, prescriptors and formators, according to their different functions. (Morris 1946:ch.3.).

them directly. They only make these objects accessible to the user.¹⁷ As a result, the linguistic sign is not first and foremost a name but rather an index of a symptom. It depends on interpretation and demands this interpretation in the sense of 'aliquid stat pro aliquo'.¹⁸ As such this 'aliquid' contains two elements, a sensible one such as sound, readable characters, and an element regarding its meaning, the categorial value, the context in which it fits. Both these elements are irrevocably one. The theoretical separation between them is but mental construction. Only by means of its meaning is sound elevated to a plane more than physical language. In the same way by means of the senses meaning itself is accessible. Sound and meaning, both fields must be incorporated, independently but inseparably.¹⁹ Linguistic signs are like human beings, both spirit i.e. meaning, understanding, abstraction, and matter i.e. audible sound, readable characters, at the same time.²⁰

17) In this context de Saussure has observed that:

"The linguistic sign unites not a thing and a name but a concept (the signified) and a sound image (the signifier)". (de Saussure 1966:6).

18) Signum est id quod representat aliquid as se potentiae cognoscenti. (J.a.S. Thoma Log II P.q21.a.1.).

"Entre l'être et l'homme s'intercalent le sens, la signification.....Les choses ne sont pas en soi, elles sont dans leurs signes". (P.Thevenas 1946:8).

19) Bühler in his *Axiomatik der Sprachwissenschaft*, endows the linguistic sign with three functions: a representative function, referring to reality, an expressive function, related to the sender and a conative function in relation to the receiver. (Bühler 1933:38).

Usage as contained in the vocabulary of a language refers to these distinctions, albeit that additional similarities or differences may cause a change in reference beyond the original meaning contained in the vocabulary.²¹

From linguistically orientated anthropological studies it has become apparent that classifications made through lexicon differ considerably from the one language to the other and moreover refer to rather different principles underlying these classifications.²²

This is due to the fact that principles valid in a certain community have a relation to the way in which members of that community communicate and consequently have learned to attach an essential significance to these distinctions. All forms of behaviour develop gradually in mutual coope-

20) "All psychic content exceeding the limits of individual consciousness acquires the character of a sign by the very fact of its communicability. The science of the sign.....must be elaborated in its entire scope; just as contemporary linguistics enlarges the field of semantics in treating from this point of view all the elements of the linguistic system, indeed even sounds, the results of linguistic semantics should be applied to all other series of signs and should be differentiated according to their special characteristics". (Mukarovski 1934:85).

21) "One has to learn the conditions for use with respect to words, just as one has to learn the conditions under which a certain tool may be used or certain manners should be observed". (Ikegami 1977:75).

22) Goodenough 1956, Burling 1964, and Wallace 1965, have demonstrated that no one taxonomy of cultural behaviour (or any other semantic domain) can be inherently correct and that several alternative interpretations of taxonomic styles are possible.

ration with the environment, which evokes man to speak and to act. In this way the relational life of man i.e. his existence becomes a fully human existence.²³

Only when the environment appeals to the functional disposition of the individual is this human being called upon to understand sense and meaning and eventually apply this sense and meaning himself in order to express his inner feelings.

It is obvious that the underlying principles of classification are not selected at random in a particular culture, but rather are reflections of a world of reality as experienced in a particular situation. In other words it is a specific way of complying with specific circumstances or conditions.²⁴

Some scientists who have studied a great deal on the hypothesis of linguistic-cultural determinism and relativity of unconscious thought patterns as revealed by linguistic field work in anthropological setting, have come to consider language indicative of a world-view characteristic of a particular culture.²⁵

Anthropological research has benefitted from these approaches since from the analysis of the native's cate-

23) For further details of chapter on language and speech.

24) Jacobson observes that Boas has also pointed out that classifications are arbitrary solely from the perspective of speakers of another language, but for native speakers no classification is arbitrary. (Jacobson 1966:133).

25) Whorf 1956; Lee 1938; Hoyer 1951; Lounsbury 1969; Mandler 1970.

gorization of their world of experience, such as those of the kinship systems, the botanical, zoological and meteorological terminologies, a certain insight is obtained in the way in which the people concerned have organized their own existence.

In such a way this inside view may prove of great importance for unraveling patterns of behaviour and supplying basic data for further investigation in other fields of scientific inquiry.

As stated before, prefixes act as classifiers within the Luganda nominal system. At the same time a semantic relation exists between the objects as signified by the prefixes and the reality behind it.

In the process of nomination, in which a noun so to speak selects from a number of possibilities, analogy plays an important role, since an image of thought may be transferred from one concept to another, expressing the same basic idea.²⁶

To get to know an object, knowledge of a previously known object is required as expressions like: the heart of the

26) "Het griekse woord analogie duidt immers aan overeenkomst, gelijkenis (die verschillendheid insluit), een deelsgelijkheid en deelsverschillendheid. De latijnse synoniemen zijn similitudo en proportio. Behalve in de taalwetenschap en de wijsbegeerte treffen we het woord in deze algemene betekenis aan in allerlei wetenschappen, logica, geschiedenis, psychologie, rechtwetenschappen en ook wel eens in de omgangstaal. De analogieleer in de wijsbegeerte en met name die van Thomas van Aquino steunt op onze kenteknik en in verband daarmee op de techniek van de naamgeving". (de Witte 1948:3).

matter, the vision of the intellect etc., demonstrate.²⁷

When contemplating on the various applications of a certain nomination, a picture of one basic meaning arises to which other meanings are in a way related. This together constitutes a field of meaning, the dimensions of which are determined by the associations which they evoke.

Whether this relation to the basic meaning is still experienced as vivid, or whether one is still aware of this connection is a different issue, since active language use may have obscured it, or the speaker of a language is not alert enough to it.²⁸

"A distinctive feature, either by itself or in conjunction with some other distinctive features, may constitute a unit of meaning, that is realized as one lexical item in the language. Just what feature or features constitute such a unit is apart of what the speaker must learn in order that he may use the language in an appropriate way, and to that extent again the feature may control the way the speaker views the extralinguistic world". (Ikegami 1977:83).

When speaking about a semantic field in this paper, it is

27) "Zeer vaak kennen wij een of ander ding niet rechtstreeks en onafhankelijk, maar vanuit kennis over andere zaken komen we tot een kennisname ervan; dan ontleent het ook daaraan zijn naam". (de Witte 1948:3).

28) As Verhaar has observed:

"Language use makes us forget language and speech can only function under that condition; awareness of language use during that use is irreconcilable with the nature of man". (Verhaar 1977).

the basic idea of the classes together with its periphery of derived and analogous meanings which is intended.

The enterprise is focussed on a study of nouns and their relation to the objects they signify.

Two aspects may then be observed: The noun representing the impression the object makes on the mind, and the meaning this object evokes within a particular culture in a particular epoch.

Since a formal object may be said to represent content if it places into equivalent classes all and only the things which have the same content (cf. Bach 1968:90), a semantic class could also be defined merely by the sign which is its label i.e. as a set of objects to which a given linguistic sign is applied. However, in that case this study would result in a mere collection of words without any contextual information about their function, which is clearly not the intention.²⁹

It is precisely the relation between the noun representing an object and the particular field of the world in which this object exercises an influence, which constitutes its semantic field.

29) Piaget describes the necessity of some sort of functional activity as follows:

"Structures are inseparable from performance, from functions...To be real, a structure must, in the literal sense, be governed from within....So we come back to the necessity of some sort of functional activity, and if the facts oblige us to attribute some sort of functional activity to a subject, it is for our purposes sufficient to define this subject as the center of functional activity". (Piaget 1970:71).

By means of a folk-taxonomy and some empirical observation it will be argued that such semantic fields are present within the nominal classification and consequently that a concomitant concept serves as a principle of each class.³⁰

The semantic field thus described implies a way of looking at the world, a way of selecting phenomena into categories to which the human being learns to attach different kinds of responses and which enables the vocabulary of a language to perpetuate conventional ways of classifying experience.³¹

Similarly one might argue that by way of semantic distinctions, as contained in the language, the interest and concerns of the people are reflected. Thus the existence of important analogies between language and the

30) Cf. Chapter on the survey of the classes

31) Or as Travis has phrased it:

"Semantics, in one view, aims at explicating relations between words and the world". (Travis 1977:1).

32) Liem argues the situation as follows:

"For scholars such as Sapir (1936), Whorf (1956), and Pike (1954, 1955, 1960), language is not a self-contained system; its behavioral aspects are closely related to linguistic aspects, and it is viewed as being only one part of a larger totality of structured human behaviour. On the one hand, language is inextricably integrated into other aspects of this behaviour totality, and, on the other hand, language constitutes a significant part of this total behaviour. Because language is considered to be related to other aspects of behaviour, and because the totality of structured human behaviour is what culture is, language is then closely related to culture". (Liem 1978:288).

rest of human culture, sharing the same fundamental characteristics, seems to be confirmed.³² As previously mentioned, in Luganda the various prefixes act as modes of reference in the relationship between a noun and its object, as a representative or a member of a class. In this sense a collection of phenomena to which a certain linguistic sign is applied, constitutes a semantic field. However this does not supply much information about distinctive qualities of any member of this class apart from a general idea and a common denominator.

It is precisely the distinctive quality which provides the reason for a particular object to be classified in a particular class, thus establishing the basis for the common label.

The criterion for these specific qualities is contained in the very culture itself, based on traditional and historic issues and practice.

It is the objective of this study to distill and set apart, for an unavoidable part from an outsider's viewpoint, the members of the various classes and sub-divisions therein, as regards their common distinctive features.³³

For example: The prefix mu- acts as a designator for a number of nouns belonging to class I in the system and signifies at the same time the living, personal, highly valued character and other distinctive qualities re-

33) With regard to the subject discussed here, Morris uses the word 'designation' to indicate the relation of a sign to its class of objects, and 'signification' with a view to the distinctive qualities of the class. (Morris 1946:ch.3).

garded as such, of the particular objects in this class. Be it noted however, that to the anthropologist the linguistic structure is meant to be but a guide in his efforts to understand and describe another culture and that he will not feel himself restricted by considerations of a purely linguistic nature.³⁴

In the previous pages it has been argued that in this paper classification is to be understood as a systematic ordering of types on the basis of linguistic information on the one hand and cultural criteria on the other. The aim is to illustrate an established order by which this particular world becomes more understandable. This order is partly an objective characteristic of the phenomena in as far as they are expressed in language as an exponent of human thought and for a part an artifact constructed by the author in his search for understanding. Consequently the classification is not a scientific taxonomy as such but rather a way of listing living forms, objects and abstracta, associated with plans for action. This folk taxonomy is not inherently correct and several alternative interpretations would be possible. Lastly,

34) "The complexity in the structure of oppositional relationships together with the vagueness of dimensions of contrast, makes it particularly difficult to define a complete set of semantic features for a number of linguistic items in the language.

Notice that the difficulty arises from inherent characteristics of the semantic system of the language and no theory, however complete, can be expected to produce a clear-cut description". (Ikegami 1977:80).

linguistic information is but a guide. A reflexion on the nature of language and speech seems then to be appropriate.

2.3 ON LANGUAGE AND SPEECH

According to F. de Saussure language is to be regarded as an abstract phenomenon covering all aspects of human linguistic activity.

A distinction is drawn between 'language' and 'parole' in which the former stands for each and every system of sound symbols used in communication, independent of the volition of the individual speaker and the latter as the individual act of the will and intelligence. (de Saussure 1965:11).

In this last sense speech is unique to mankind since it renders a way of communication possible, a way of transmitting meaning, through the use of symbols.¹

Thoughts are expressed by using acoustic symbols, although it must be observed that man can also communicate information accurately and consistently through all other channels available to him, for he is determined to express himself.²

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- 1) The difference between signal and symbol is adequately expressed by Cassirer:

"Signals and symbols belong to two different universes of discourse: a signal is a part of the physical world of being; a symbol is a part of the human world of meaning. Signals are 'operators' symbols are 'designators'. Signals, even when understood and used as such, have nevertheless a sort of physical or substantial being; symbols have only a functional value". (Cassirer 1970:35).

- 2) The determination of man to express himself in the course of his evolution, is amply illustrated by many historical instances: "For man is determined to express himself. He must utter. What is inside must come out. Out of his mouth, if possible, but in any case out. On stone with signs that no one will ever understand, carving pictograms, hieroglyphs, Runie, Cretan, Aztec, Carribbean". (Endore 1959:60).

These sounds symbols are the product of vibrations of the vocal cords in the larynx and a flow of air shaped by the movements of the lips, tongue and palate, accompanied by a remarkable precision and abstractness in comparison to the communicative efforts of other species. (Espir 1976:1).

It is precisely these features of language and speech which make the complicated system, called human culture, as a system of interpersonal organization at all possible, at the same time including all contrivances which replace speech in situations where it cannot be employed.³

Since culture has proved to be indispensable for anyone to make a serious investigation into the nature of man, it would seem likely that the same holds true for phenomena like language and speech. (cf. Gehlen 1950; Landman 1961; Rothacker 1965).⁴

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- 3) The importance of speech in relation to culture has been described by many authors such as e.g. White and von Raffler Engel:
- "The relationship of language and culture is based on a variety of features and their multiple interactions. The only thing we know for sure is that this relationship is in no way a one-to-one correspondence... language and culture are two distinct aspects of the psychological and sociological makeup of man and his behaviour. There is a reciprocal influence between language and culture". (von Raffler Engel 1975:355).
- 'Without (symbol based) articulate speech we could have no human social organization. Families we might have.....but we would have no prohibitions of incest, no rules prescribing exogamy, polygamy or monogamy.... Without speech we would have no political, economic, ecclesiastic or military organization; no code of etiquette; no laws, no science, theology or literature; no games or music, except on an ape level. Ritual and ceremonial paraphernalia would be meaningless...we would be all but toolless'. (White 1972:203).

Initially all individuals go through a process of enculturation in which they learn their social roles⁵ by means of the process of communication.⁶

This communication by way of speech is a manifestation of language and represents the most characteristic behaviour of the human species. It is this behaviour more than anything else which distinguishes man from animals.⁷ As such speech is to be considered as a functional disposition of man, which is gradually developed in cooperation with the environment in which he is situated and which invites him to speak. Thus existence is a relational way of being, characteristic for all biological life. In existential philosophy, human existence implies various

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- 4) This view is supported by Bose in his definition of culture which....'includes...habitual attitudes of mind transferable from one person to another with the aid of mental images conveyed by speech symbols'. (Bose 1929:23).

Also White states that: 'Culture is an organization of phenomena.... which consist of or is dependent upon the use of symbols'. (White 1959:231).

- 5) "A social role from this point of view is a constellation of shared, learned meanings through which individuals are able to enter stable, consistent and publicly recognized forms of interaction with others. A social role can then be considered as a complex coding activity controlling both the creation and organization of specific meaning and the conditions for their transmission and reception". (Bernstein 1972:474).
- 6) "...Now if the communication system which defines a given role is essentially that of speech, it should be possible to distinguish critical social roles of the speech forms they regulate". (Bernstein 1972:474).

aspects of being-in-the-world. The corporeal way of being (corps-sujet), the personal way of being-in-the-world (moi-sujet) and the being-in-the-world as a corps-object. On the level of the corps-sujet meaning is acquired in a pre-personal, non-reflective manner. The human body procures this meaning and organizes itself according to the situation.

"The corps-sujet evaluates, without thinking, stimuli and translates these into subjective values - delightful, not-delightful, useful, harmful, etc. - and automatically adequate moods, emotions and feelings are formed as revelations of man's pathic existence". (Prick 1971:72). Already in the senses, stimuli are being translated into a recognisable language, transforming a stream of information into abstract concepts.

In other words, the nervous system reduces reality to a world of personal, subjective concepts. Within this pro-

- 7) In the animal world sounds never are a language. Any development of sound into language is stopped by the lack of specific insight in the significance of behaviour and the factual content of it. The difference between speech and sound is, that words carry a meaning, which has to be understood in the light of the situation, whilst sound carries an announcement, a signal, the biological function of which may vary on account of the situation.
- 8) In this process a stream of impressions is connected to the reminiscences of the past, which makes planning of the present day possible. In this way problems may be tested against reality as it resides in the mind before being confronted with reality itself and so experience is projected to the future.
"For let men please themselves as they will in admiring and almost adoring the human mind, this is

cess, the as yet not fulfilled personal way of existence is gradually being completed.⁸

How physical data, like the stimuli to the cerebral cortex, can represent meaning, an experienced situation, is not known. Here lies the mystery of language in its most interior aspect. The corporeal way of being is manifested in moods and emotions and other pre-personal expressions, as an answer to a situational encounter. (cf. Buytendijk 1965). As such one person differs from the other, because everybody responds in a different way to a different situation.

Rooted in this corporeal or pathic⁹ level of existence, a personal level of existence develops, being fully present when the person speaks or is able to speak, in other words when he makes an intellectually motivated choice. This pathic communion "serves to establish and maintain a feeling of social solidarity and well being". (Lyons 1968:417).

It is in this way that the moi-sujet gives sense to and discovers meaning in its surrounding world, reacting to this meaning with the aid of a system of symbols, called language.¹⁰

certain, that as an uneven mirror distorts the rays of objects according to its own figure and action, so the mind, when it receives impressions of objects through the senses, cannot be trusted to report them truly, but in forming its notions mixes up its own nature with the nature of things". (Bacon 1960:22).

9) The term 'pathic' was first used by Malinowski. (cf. Ogden 1930:296).

It so becomes understandable that in speech an aspect of the world is present as well as an aspect of the 'ego'. There is something of the speaker as well as of the recipient. There is a factor of personal feeling, volition and thinking as well as a factor of culture.

"In speaking we participate in a cultural object, language, which is not our own, individual making and into which we are immersed from birth. We cannot choose the significations or senses of the words we utter, nor can we change them at will. In speech we share common public language which brings us a common, public, linguistic and cultural world".

(Spurling 1977).

In speech the scope of human intentions is made manifest and the fact that human beings are depending on each other in a reciprocal cooperation.¹¹ When speaking, man is outside himself by means of his speech. As such, speech libe-

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- 10) Barnett emphasizes the individual's need to attach meaning to new experiences and the role of this 'need for meaning' in the selective adoption of innovations.

"Meaning is the insight which comes when the idea of the presented thing is referable to the idea of some past experience..... In so far as unfamiliar experiences are concerned meaning is evoked if some familiar configuration is aroused either directly or indirectly, either spontaneously or by search and effort". (Barnett 1953:334).

- 11) "La communication ou la compréhension des gestes s'obtient par la réciprocité de mes intentions et des gestes d'autrui, de mes gestes et des intentions lisibles dans la conduite d'autrui. Tout se passe comme si l'intention d'autrui habitait mon corps ou comme si mes intentions habitaient le sien. Le geste dont je suis le témoin dessine en pointillé un objet

rates man from his interior self. Language thus becomes a social contract between insulated individuals.¹²

This expressed interiority of subject and partner is a way of social behaviour.¹³

Language as a system of symbols, with its own character and structure, has a specific function between the ego and the world, which is essentially intermediating and dynamic. A moi-sujet attaches meaning to the surroundings on a personal level. Norms and values make an impression on him, which in turn renders culture possible and produces it.¹⁴ As a result, a human body can never be a pre-personal way of being only, since it always is at the same time the carrier of values and norms.

intentionel. Cet objet devient actuel et il est pleinement compris lorsque les pouvoirs de mon corps s'ajustent à lui et le recouvrent. Le geste est devant moi une question, il m'indique certains points sensible du monde il m'invite à l'y rejoindre".

(Merleau-Ponty 1945:215-216).

See also: F.J.J. Buytendijk en H. Plessner. Deut.min. Ausdr., in Phil. Anzeiger I, 1925:173.

- 12) "...Through speaking and listening to someone else we are able to take the role of the other, to understand things from his point of view". (Spurling 1977).
- 13) "All utterances can be understood as performatives, as social activities". (Turner 1974:ch 16).
- 14) "Thus the knitting of the brows which, according to Darwin, was originally intended to protect the eyes from the glare of the sun, or the narrowing of the eyes in order to focus more sharply have taken on the figurative sense of meditation or thoughtfulness". (Merleau-Ponty 1962:194). In this way the situation is full of meaning.

On this level of existence one is consequently confronted with the 'personne culturelle', the human being in the modality of a person.¹⁵

This cultural being is somebody who is situated within the framework of an actual system of generally accepted norms and values, etical, moral as well as social, as valid in a certain epoch. The person, as a moi-sujet, knows his relation to the world to a personal extent and has, as a corps-sujet, a sensorial relationship to the world. Since man not only knows but also knows that he knows, in other words possesses self-awareness, he can refer to his own body as an object.¹⁶

This potentiality, to objectify oneself (as a corps-object) is lacking in the animal.

It may be argued that every language system is primordialily borrowed from the environmental reality of the speech-making community,¹⁷ and that by means of it the

15) How manifold the deductions and the primitive meaning of the concept 'persona' may be, literally and experimentally it is derived from the latin 'personare' i.e. to ring through, of the sound of voice through a mask. The term used to be employed for individuals constituting the cast of a play, in which a mask was used in order to increase the acoustic effect of the voice.

16) Mead has described the issue as follows:
"The self is a social product. The individual (or group) can only become conscious of himself when he is forced to think 'of' himself, to stand outside his skin-boundaries and see himself as others see him. Then he becomes an 'object', a me as well as an I. This happens when he encounters another".
(in Mead 1959:77).

meeting of man to man is realized. It is the individual's word, expressing his temper, his emotion, the affective and mental aspects of his personality which establishes this contact.¹⁸ Speech then, may be considered as an incarnated language through which thoughts and feelings and emotions take shape in verbal symbols and as such be con-

- 17) "The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built on the language habits of the group.

No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The world in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached". (Sapir 1929:209).

- 18) This points to a biological deeply rooted need of the individual for an optimal contact with his surroundings, which may serve as an important means in the struggle against the fundamental fear for loss of existence.

A similar phenomenon is observed in the world of the plants in which the need of a plant for optimal contact with its milieu is best regarded in its relation to light. When a plant initially has been short of light it will develop into a very weak specimen hardly able to look for what it needs, according to its elementary need, namely light. (Kloek 1974:162).

- 19) It is generally accepted that behaviour is a by the senses perceptible complex totality of somatic activities and functions, which transcend themselves in referring to a mental interiority.

Sapir was the first anthropologist to be drawn into the problem of defining language as a pan-human development, as a behavioral aspect of the human being. In this way he used it as a point of differentiation from other living beings, namely by the ability to develop symbols and to use them. (cf. Sapir 1933:155-168).

sidered as a mode of behaviour.¹⁹

As a thinking being, man is someone for whom the exterior world exist, therefor his purely inner life is related to thinking. Before man starts to speak, makes use of objective propositional language²⁰ there is already present a corporeal language. Here lies the beginning of all spoken and written language, in fact based on a reference system of the body, as it were the first primordial knowledge of man.²¹ In this phase of existence the world and the objects therein are known by means of a change of situation, of the world having its effects on the body. So all knowledge of the world, expressed in words, is primarily derived from mutations in the body, in as far as this body is in contact with the world.

The first subjective experience of the body, a primitive unconscious experience, is called a vital affection. With

20) The english neurologist Jackson introduced the term 'propositional language' in order to account for some very interesting pathological phenomena. He found that many patients suffering from aphasia had by no means lost the use of speech but that they could not employ their words in an objective, propositional sense. (cf. Cassirer 1923.ch.6:237:323).

21)" Der Ausdruck des Raumes und der Räumlichen Beziehungen das Innen und Aussen, das Vorn und Hinten, das Oben und Unten, erhält seine Bezeichnung dadurch, dass sie je an ein bestimmtes sinnliches Substrat im Ganzen des Menschlichen Leibes angeknüpft werden. (Cassirer 1923:156).
...der menschlichen Körper und die Unterscheidung seiner einzelnen Gliedmassen dient als eine der erste und notwendigen Grundlagen der sprachlichen 'Orientierung' überhaupt. (Cassirer 1923:266).

language man acquires an additional virtual organ, which does not render the physical organs superfluous, but in a sense relieves them. In the same way as a tool replaces special functions so language takes over the human contact with the world.

Language then is a consequent action and at the same time an institution which has a fixed set of rules rendering individual agreements superfluous.

In this sense, before man speaks there is already language. Primitive expressions, signifying emotions are an answer to the disposition of an experienced corporeal situation. Words, as verbal symbols are expressions of

22) Libido: Latin for delight, lust, appetite, desire. The emotional craving prompting any specific human activity. Meant is that the very young child only experiences delight and satisfaction from his own body (functions) and object-libido, in which objects outside the person (such as people and other living beings, but also ideas and spheres of interest) are necessary sources for positive psychic experiences. (Duyker e.a. 1977:155).

"How quick are children to discover this wonderful inner world where they are all powerful. Who teaches them this amazing art of manipulating symbols? So that from the tenderest age they can sit down as masters at the keyboard of the ten billion cells of their brains and tease the various microscopic nerve endings into producing endless simulacra of reality? Endless variations on whatever melody they love best?

As soon as they know words as the symbols for things, they realize that they have a magic instrument within them by which by the mere calling up of the right word, they can bring to their minds the image of things they crave.

Broca's area in the brain's frontal lobe, so the anatomists tell us, is the keyboard of this magic instrument". (Endore 1970:385).

the body and as such an internal private matter. All language begins with the acquisition of experience, and the first acquisition of knowledge takes place via the senses. In this way e.g. the first childhood knowledge is acquired by the complex, consisting out of many stimuli, unconscious experience of a changed corporeal disposition. When this changed corporeal disposition is accompanied by the release of much libido, then the infant is urged to play and to name. In this way a child never remains anonymous for long.²²

Speech then is produced from the one moment to the other, it is a creative act²³ of the human subject and is aimed at a world which in the subjective experience, represents a complexity of meanings, of relations between objects and events.²⁴

In order to initiate the process of transmission of meaning through the use of symbols, language has to be

23) "Language is something given as the fundamental modality through which the creative act takes place, but in each case the actualization of language is the accomplishment of the one who reconstitutes language by bringing it into the focus of a creative subject. Therefore, the meaning of language is to be understood through the subject who correlates the potential givenness of language with the actual use of language". (Rasmussen 1971:7).

24) In this way Lindesmith maintains that "Meaning does not reside in symbols or in a person's brain or in the objects themselves; the meaning of an object or word is determined by the responses which are made to it, it is a relationship, not an essence". (Lindesmith 1949:54).
Langer confirms this by saying that: "There is no quality of meaning. Its essence lies in the realm

incarnated, seeing that language not only makes thoughts possible, but also serves to express them in a personal manner. Thus thinking becomes a mode of personal existence.²⁵

The Greek word 'Logos' for word and reason points in the direction of an identity between word and thought, between language and thinking. Comprehension begins by interpreting and grasping the meaning of messages, by placing them in a historical context to which they belong together with other messages and happenings. In the same way understanding appeals to the imagination in which the element of arbitrariness belongs to the inescapable conditions. In this sense understanding is anterior to expression since it supplies the expression with content and subsequently transcends it.²⁶

In considering the concepts of language and speech one consequently meets a number of factors, which are in a

of logic, where one does not deal with qualities but only with relations". (Langer 1942:54). Or as Weber has expressed it: "The most common meaning of meaning when used with reference to human phenomena is intentional. As such a human act is said to be meaningful when it conveys the agent's reason for doing it, his intention or motive". (Weber 1947:93).

- 25) In this sense v.Humbold described the personal aspect in the process of understanding the meaning of a word as follows:"...the word does not represent the image of the object but the impression produced by the object on the brain. In this manner, the same object or phenomenon can bear different names, according to the way it is understood or according to one of its more impressive traits. Thus the study of language can reveal the subjective manner in which its speakers perceive the world". (v.Humbold 1936:96).

way the constituting elements for the structure of the language. The spoken word transcends itself in referring to someone or something which it represents. It is uttered by the speaker who at the same time remains sensitive to the receiver's responses and by modification of his speaking shows that his behaviour is in fact guided by the intention of achieving a particular effect in the receiving person. Speech then is directed within the sphere of the experience of the listener, who has learned to understand the meaning of a particular message in a particular culture, which indicates that without language there could be no culture, since it is the primary condition with regard to human communication.²⁷

Speech implicates sound which is received and inwardly transformed into adequate concepts. Every form of perception is a particular mode of existence in the world, a way in which a subject refers unconsciously and personally to previous sensorial experience.

26) v.Baal argues the situation as follows: "Language is a faculty which is posterior to thought. Man had to pass through a prolonged period of linguistic growth before he succeeded in developing language into an adequate instrument for the expression of thought. Language originated in action and the first elements of language, the roots, are mono-syllabic expressions of action, or signs for concrete things". (v. Baal 1971:20).

27) "In summary, language can be compared to the visible one-tenth of an iceberg, the other nine-tenths of which are submerged under water. The nine-tenths of the iceberg could be said to be the culture of the people who use the language". (Yotsukura 1977:269).

Language offers only an indirect way to reality and intends to present a personal relation to reality. If this were not so than human interaction would consist only of nothing but objective ascertainements, hiding the inner mysteries of the personal being. Speech however intends to draw a picture of a personal existence expressing thoughts and feelings, everything which constitutes the inner life, the personality as a whole.

The same holds true for the perceiving person, who in his own subjectivity depends on his disposition with regard to the speaker. Dialogue is the ultimate goal of speech, in which the roles differ from speaker to listener.

It is a wrong perception to think that a person who listens in order to understand spoken words, needs nothing more than an understanding of the language of the speaker.

Speaking as a creative act of human subject is a great art, but the same is valid for understanding, which presupposes interpretation of the spoken words.

The person who has an active perceptive part in the process of communication, must find his satisfaction in the questions he poses. This implies an active use of the intelligence.

About the nature, the essence of the relation between language and everything which is related to language, such as thoughts, feelings, moods, endeavours, aspirations and perceived speech, which is per definitionem a mode of behaviour, one may conclude that they are all specific human phenomena, all different aspects of being-in-the-world.

Language use is essentially unthinkable without the creative act of image formation. Initially this imagination inspired in such a way that the primordial need, which

caused man in the course of his evolution, instead of remaining a mutist, to slowly take up the training of his mind and the formation of habits, in order to transform a concrete observed optical or acoustic image into a symbol.²⁸

One could speak of a learning process within human existence, in which every acoustic impulse undergoes a subjective transsignification. This means that the human subject is able to give sense to and to discover meaning in the world of sounds perceived.²⁹

So far it has been illustrated that man is determined to express himself and that one of the means hereto is speech as a manifestation of language. It was argued that speech, representing the most characteristic beha-

28) Boyer defines this image formation as "*similitudo intentionalis cogniti locum tenens ipsius cogniti et ducens in cognitionem cogniti*". (Boyer 1950:29).

29) In comparison with the language acquisition of a child St. Augustine describes the process as follows: "When they - my elders - named some object and accordingly moved towards something, I saw this and grasped that the thing was called by the sound they uttered when they meant to point it out. Their intention was shown by their bodily movement, as it were the natural language of all peoples; the expression of the face, the play of the eyes, the movements of other parts of the body, and the tone of voice which expressis our state of mind in seeking, having, rejecting or avoiding something. Thus as I heard the words repeatedly used in their proper places in various sentences, I gradually learned to understand what objects they signified, and after I had trained my mouth to form these signs I used them to express my own desires". (Augustine, *Confessiones*, I.8. in Wittgenstein 1967).

viour of man, is indispensable for a serious investigation into the culture of man, as a system of interpersonal organization. By speech, it was argued, the scope of human intentions becomes evident and by means of its intermediating function, the interdependence of human beings is indicated, in which language serves as a social agreement. This social agreement is embedded in a system of values and norms, the nature of which will be discussed in the next chapter.

2.4 ON VALUE-ORIENTATION

As indicated in the previous chapters, language originated within human society, because man in the course of his evolution arrived at a point where he felt the need to communicate.

Messages thus came to be transmitted, amongst others, by sound symbols and were consequently regarded as a purely human achievement, simply because man could say so. (cf. Lieberman and Crelin 1971:283).

Intentions, feelings and emotions could be accurately transmitted since different sound images came to be used to express them. This process, preserved and developed in language, provides an unusual view on man and his activities, as the originator of culture (cf. Kwant 1978:35) and as a meaning-maker (cf. Crick 1976:3). In the world of sounds perceived, man experiences subjectively what meaning he prefers. This experience, like all experiences of the world, is based on a principle of order, on the fact that man, consciously or unconsciously, classifies objects and events as he perceives them.¹

This phenomenon has become a habit with man, who in the course of his daily existence meets many situations with an automatic reduction to previously experienced events.

1) "Order implies a cosmos, a purposeful world, characterised by moral order and telos".

(Vlachos 1978:297).

"If categorization is the making visible of some ideal order or conceptual system, than it is also the giving of physical expression to cognitive domains". (cf. Eliade 1961, Langer 1953, Rose 1968, Keesing 1972, in: Rapoport 1976:258).

As such classification has become a useful as well as a natural process within man's personal existence. He is constantly confronted with a multitude of changing events, in which the mind tries to establish some order by reducing these events to common labels. (cf. Dewey 1922:131).² In the same way culture may be regarded as a way of establishing order, thus contributing to the maintenance and development of the organization of the system. (cf. Markarian 1977:103).

The underlying principle is that without this order there would be nothing but misunderstanding and chaos.

In considering differences and similarities between objects in this particular world, including all possible variations thereof, it is not very likely that the outcome will be a 'typical image' (Brown 1958:85) valid at all times and everywhere, but rather a representation in the sense of a common value-orientation, as acquired and experienced within a particular culture area. This value-orientation can be seen as a "system of emotional conditioning" essentially meaning the "subjective experience of preferen-

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- 2) "Alle kennen is analytisch kennen, ja in het analytisch kennen zelf bevindt zich de werkelijkheid. Dit analytisch kennen schept orde door 'uit-een' te nemen, het is een scheidende ordening van differentiatie en classificatie". (van der Hooft 1979:36).
 - 3) Meaning that man is constantly changing his natural environment in order to make consciously explicit that which he implicitly is. Man and his environment constitute a whole, because each entity is ultimately connected to the other in the brain, the seat of experience. (cf. Barnett 1979:146).

ces". (Mysior 1977:428). As such value is a quality to be looked for in the mind of the culture-bearer and not in the objects themselves.³ Language then as a representation of these subjective experiences is not only concerned with naming or indicating objects, but also with the nature or quality of these objects (cf. De Josselin de Jong 1910:42) the interpretation ultimately depending on subjective valuation i.e. relating it to needs, desires and attitudes. (cf. Gould 1964:744).⁴

Every culture or sub-culture is essentially a value-system, so much so that all changes within the cultural world ultimately depend on a shift in the pattern of its constituting values. This may easily be observed cross-culturally in value-orientations concerning leisure, work, environment, authority and so on. Values and value qualities are not self-supporting entities, independent of the object or person to which the value is applied, but always depend on a subject.

In the development of this value-orientation, its application in the realm of the personal and cultural life,

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- 4) "The notion of a pattern that underlies these traits prompted Sapir to note that because culture patterns are harder to grasp than linguistic ones, language will show the way". (Mandelbaum 1949:164).
 - 5) "Om greep te krijgen op de oneindige en onuitputtelijke rijkdom en verscheidenheid van de empirisch waarneembare werkelijkheid konstrueert de onderzoeker 'modellen' (Gedankbilde, Utopien, abstrahierende Zusammenfassungen, noemt Weber ze vaak) die een middel zijn voor hem om orde en ratio te ontwaren in de onderzochte werkelijkheid". (Lemaire 1976:145).

language fulfills an important function.

In order to fathom the infinite and inexhaustible richness and diversity of empirically observable reality, the investigator develops models as a means to detect order and reason in the reality investigated. (Lemaire 1976:145).⁵
This order and reason really begins with the use of language, since language itself is system, order, rationality and speech makes use of these already existing possibilities.⁶

Considering the many definitions of value, it seems doubtful that one which comprises all the meanings assigned to the term, or one that would be accepted by all investigators can be produced. (cf. Albert 1968:288).

In anthropological approaches, values are considered to be empirical variables and their importance is supported by the fact that they are believed to be true and correct by the people who hold them.⁷

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- 6) "Langue ontstaat op niet geplande wijze uit de menselijke gemeenschap.....Het geeft inderdaad een ongewone kijk op de mens als oorsprong van cultuur. Het laat ook zien dat de redelijkheid niet zonder meer de oorsprong is van alles wat uit de mens ontstaat. Redelijkheid immers komt met de taal en dank zij de taal". (Kwant 1978:35).
 - 7) This is what really serves as the basis for cultural-relativism 'the social discipline that comes of respect for differences - of mutual respect' (Herskovits 1967:76) and in such a way values derive their scientific importance.
 - 8) As Kroeber has stated: "It follows that if we refuse to deal with values, we are refusing to deal with what has most meaning in particular cultures as well as in human culture seen as a whole". (Kroeber 1952:137).

It is obvious that value-orientations must be included when studying culture in general and linguistic structure of that culture in particular, for it is precisely values which render meaning and sense to a culture and may as such be considered to be the essence of it.⁸

Culture contains the basis for humanity, for human rights, freedom and dignity, for an unhindered development of humanity and individual potentialities, which is the highest of all human values.⁹

It is typical in human culture that value often is experienced as a reality inherent in the objects themselves. This is so because a sufficiently large number of people have always looked upon them as such, but probably due to human 'forgetfulness' they have, in the course of history, become set in symbols and have consequently been experienced as objective realities.¹⁰

It appears that values in a culture must often be reasserted in order to re-establish the cultural unity in that community, in this way safeguarding a sense of security.¹¹ Thus technological changes coming from outside, which often are the cause of disorientation, especially in developing countries, may ultimately be adopted without fear of destroying the personality or character concerned, (cf. Wallerstein 1961:135) provided the introduction of the new technology is accompanied by a philosophy geared to the situation. From the copious studies of value and value-orientations,

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- 9) Freedom is the deepest drive in man, transcending objective knowledge. Existence and freedom require the making of choices. They are perpetual either-or situations.

the one formulated by T. Parsons seems to tally most suitable with the subject undertaken in this paper. He defines the concept as "an element of a shared symbolic system, which serves as a criterion or standard for selection among the alternatives of orientation which are intrinsically open in a situation". (Parsons 1951:12). The emphasis lies on the word 'shared' from which it appears that it is useful only as a collective term to group kinds of values, however much it may have originated as 'subjective experience of preferences'. (Mysior 1978:428).

From this would follow that when a particular kind of value is meant, a distinctive term must be used and as such a taxonomy of terms is built which may serve as a source for transmitting and sharing the idea to others. (cf. Welte 1977:444).

Since many value-orientations in a particular culture are learned through enculturation by all members of the

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- 10) "Werkelijk" is datgene waarvan een voldoende groot aantal mensen heeft afgesproken dat het werkelijk te 'noemen' is. Alleen is het feit van deze benoeming (d.w.z. dat er in bovengenoemde zin waarde aan dingen is toegekend) al lang vergeten, zodat de overeengekomen definitie gereïficeerd en uiteindelijk beleefd wordt als de 'objectieve werkelijkheid' daar buiten ons..." (Watzlawick 1976:117).
 - 11) "Up to the present man has developed a variety of cultural orientations, each of which, apart from many other considerations operates as a protective device, as a sort of shield protecting man from himself and from the inclusiveness of his environment. These and other functions will have to be served by tomorrow's world view. We must know them before we proceed". (Gifford 1978:83).

community, they are likely to become universal in that culture and consequently not completely arbitrary.¹²

One could say in agreement with Levi-Strauss that they are arbitrary a priori, but cease to be arbitrary a posteriori. (Levi-Strauss 1963:91).

The only agreement with regard to values as used in anthropological literature seems to be "That they have to do with normative as opposed to existential propositions". (Kluckhohn 1951:390). Thus value and value-orientations are cognate to opinions and attitudes which influence people's behaviour and feelings or what they believe they should be or do.

In this way "value-orientations will change with time towards these now judged 'modern'. This is essentially the self-fulfilling prophecy on a communal scale". (Hartog 1977:253).

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- 12) Markarian seems to favour the opinion that they are more arbitrary than not:

"Hence the concept of culture, regardless of the objects involved, necessarily becomes a criterion of a society's system of value-judgment. It means that the standard for distinguishing culture phenomena happens to depend directly upon the value-orientation of the person making the choice. Thus, these criteria become, in many ways, rather arbitrary because people are guided by their value-systems, which may differ greatly". (Markarian 1977:103).

- 13) "Awareness" has here the special and narrow sense of manifested by habitual verbalization. The members of the group are of course aware in the sense that they make choices with these configurations as unconscious but determinative backgrounds.....The process by which the implicit culture is acquired by the individual (i.e. the way the person learns to respond in a

Reflection and self-awareness are manifestations of a human way of being, which may be referred to as a spiritual, conscious, free or personal way of existence.¹³

On this level of existence man experiences himself in an objective manner, as a being who represents a value in relation to other beings possessing the same quality. By means of this objectification, man not only discovers values as such, but also a hierarchy of values. All objects or phenomena, such as e.g. a personality who is able to influence events by his own choice or volition, or in short, everything which sets itself apart on account of its innate differences, will occupy a higher place on the scale of valuation than those which leave man indifferent.

Awareness and objectification implicate at the same time a proximity and a remoteness to the object concerned, an ambiguity typical for human existence.

Subjectively, nature is experienced as a challenge, an exercise which implicates normative behaviour, and a human being is at liberty to comply with this exercise or not.¹⁴

manner congruent with expectation) is such that awareness and verbal formulation are intrinsically difficult.....Culture learning, because so much of it takes place before very much verbal differentiation has occurred in the carrier and because it is learned along with the pattern of language and as a part of the language, is bound to result in difficulties of awareness".

(Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952:335).

- 14) The concept nature is used in order to indicate that which exists or happens in the universe without the conscious intervention or activity of man.

Complying or not complying are both human norms¹⁵ at the disposition of the individual. As a result, human norms and values develop from an innate disposition, as an answer to a situational invitation, which is experienced by the subject as more or less imperative. In this way human values in a specific culture come to speak for themselves.¹⁶

A value-system, created by man, only then complies with actual demands, when culture-bearers who have designed the system in the course of time, know which normative possibilities man has been endowed with. The fact that a value-system does not in all respects comply with this demand and perhaps the fact that a value-system may be manipulated in a wrong manner within the various processes of society, may be the reason for the difficulty in obtaining a true conception of this system within a culture. Since value-systems are of essential significance for human existence they must also have sufficient plasticity, because human nature itself is capable of adaption to changed circumstances. They should possess sufficient possibilities for change and adaption to changed circum-

15) "A standard shared by the members of a social group to which the members are expected to conform, a conformity which is enforced by positive and negative sanctions". (Kolb 1964:472).

16) "There is the belief among those who share a set of such standards that they are valid and should be employed in valuing an object i.e. relating it to needs, desires, or attitudes and in evaluating an object i.e. comparing its relevance with that of another object or objects". (Gould 1964:744).

stances, since under drastically changed circumstances like famine, draught, war etc. reality may undergo a change. A rigid system, which cannot be reviewed or adapted to the actual demands of time, will not only result in discomfort but more likely have a negative effect on the welfare of the individual and the community concerned.

As a spiritual being, man responds to the call and challenge of the environmental nature with creative activities, which lead to the formation of values and to possibilities hidden in nature, which are susceptible for further refinement.

From the human mind a cultivating influence immanates these possibilities which the mind tries to transform into a hierarchy of values.

At the roots of this cultivating way of existence lies, on the personal level, the process of enculturation: "The aspects of the learning experience which marks man off from other creatures, and by means of which initially, and in later life, he achieves competence in his culture". (Herskovits 1948:39).¹⁷

In this way, most of the happenings and objects within his own culture become gradually intelligible, whilst the same phenomena in another culture may not be grasped at all, because man is not geared to the prevailing value-

17) Herskovits describes this learning experience further as: "....Right and wrong, normal and abnormal, beautiful and plain, are absorbed from infancy, as a person learns the way of the group into which he is born". (Herskovits 1948:64).

orientation in that culture.¹⁸

The reason may be that precisely on account of the way in which we have arranged our surroundings, it has become intelligible to us, because human planning, arranging and valueing have assigned place to all the objects in a particular setting. (cf. Dilthey 1962:120).

Since a human being, as a personal or spiritual subject, has the ability to adapt the use of the environmental nature to his own desires, needs and attitudes, culture as a result eventually entails these manifestations, designed by the human mind.¹⁹

In Luganda one finds this design represented in a peculiar fashion, and no aspect of reality can escape it in as far as the language presents it. The true basis for this

18) "For example it happens that a population, when changing its way of life from an agricultural to an urban situation, it fails to achieve truly new value-orientations geared to the new cultural envelope, which man fashioned for himself". (Gifford 1978:79).

19) In this way nature and culture are no contradictions, but they complement each other, due to the human need to perfect himself and the things entrusted to him.

20) "In many languages, a round thing cannot be treated in the same way as a square or oblong thing, for they belong to different genders, which are distinguished by special linguistic means such as the use of prefixes". (Cassirer 1970:150).

"These prefixes may have had originally as their basis the difference between man, animal, plant, thing, etc. However one ought to keep in mind that the "Boundaries between the kingdom of plants, of animals, of man, the difference between species, families, genera, are fun-

structure are the prefixes, represented in a nominal classification which is basically the result of a choice made on account of certain standards of living and thinking as employed in the community.²⁰

Classification is a mental construction and has as such a different level of reality than the objects themselves.

As such the description of the various classes is based on the innate characteristics of their constituting elements in as far as sense and value is attributed to those elements.²¹

"The basis of the nominal classification in Bantu languages

damental and ineffaceable. But the primitive mind ignores and rejects them all. Its view of life is a synthetic not an analytical one. Life is not divided into classes and subclasses. It is felt as an unbroken continuous whole which does not admit of any cleancut trenchant distinctions. The limits between the different spheres are not unsurmountable barriers, they are fluent and fluctuating".(Cassirer 1970:89).

- 21) In this sense Fortmann in accordance with D.Lee, maintains that at the root of human behaviour are not human needs, but values. (Fortmann 1971:102).

This opinion is also held by Wundt, who treats the grammatical classification from a psychological point of view, as a value-orientation, which finds its roots in: "Gewisse Werthbegriffe, die ihren ausgangspunkt in der Werthschätzung des Menschen selbst besitzen". (Wundt 1912:19).

White holds that cultural evolution depends on the ability of bestowing value upon things (White 1959:229), whilst Royen specifies that all nominal systems are essentially expressions of one and the same human mind. It then stands to reason that differences between the systems must be explained by external circumstances of a different social environment or of differentiated religious opinions.(cf. Royen 1901:98).

is not what one would call the essence or the objective character of species and things. The basis is rather everything which has a bearing on the personal experience with regard to species and things, such as the subjective degree of valuation, the special way in which it is looked upon, the semantic character of the objects, the connotation it evokes.

Accordingly, the whole of the surrounding world is combined in one closed system on the basis of these features and language corresponds with a same constant system of nominal forms: a specific class system varying from language to language". (cf. Wils 1935:469).²²

The nominal system may be defined as a 'model of agreement' and it appears that the number of classes is determined on this basis alone, and that the specific and distinctive qualities of a class of data are retained and serve as the basis of understanding.

The assumption is that a description of, or a logical deduction from these semantic domains, is at all possible and moreover that members of a particular society are

22) "De grondslag van de nominale klassificatie in de Bantuide (en de Bantu-) talen vormt niet wat men in het Westen het wezen of het objectieve karakter der soorten en dingen zou noemen, maar alles wat voor de beleving daarvan relevant is: de subjectieve waarderingsgraad, de speciale vorm van aanschouwelijkheid, het semantisch karakter van het object, de bijgedachte die het opwekt etc. Geheel de omringende wereld is naar dergelijke kenmerken tot een gesloten systeem samengevat, waaraan in de taal een even constant stelsel van nominale vormen beantwoordt: het specifieke klassenstelsel dat taal voor taal weer verschilt". (Wils 1935:469).

consciously or unconsciously aware of the particular system.

This would indicate the existence of a certain semantic homogeneity of a population and consequently of a unitary system derivable from a given linguistic phenomenon.

In this sense much of human culture has become a sharing of symbols which has great significance in the learning of a culture. However, it must be noted that several alternative interpretations are possible, since symbols imply interpretations and consequently awareness and people may be unaware of the many cultural regularities they learn.

It will be argued that the nominal classes are basically value-orientations, in the sense that all qualifications perceivable by the senses, such as its outward appearance, size, weight, measure, pleasantness, unpleasantness, usefulness, right and wrong, animate, inanimate, are experienced in the community in a specific way and are as such reflected in the system.²³

In order to understand the Luganda nominal classification, the attention should not only be directed to "associations which are current in that particular culture, but also to the meaning which is conventionally assigned and their importance to the subject's scheme of life". (cf. Welte 1976:444).

This refers to the prevailing value-orientation within the

23) In other words the whole of culture is reflected in: "Die Gesamtheit der Objecte, an denen allgemeinen Werte haften, und die mit Rücksicht auf diese Werte gepflegt werden". (Rickert 1910:27).

community as a 'shared symbolic system' which serves as a 'criterion or standard for selection' amongst a range of alternatives. As a result a unity is established by means of this classification within the various semantic fields. The assumption is that the choices, which were the reason for the classification, were not haphazard but actually depended on the underlying system of semantic categories indicative of Baganda responses to the environment and to experience.

Since it has been discovered as a necessary basis for the individual language action, a language system which is present in every speaker, it goes without saying that an analysis of a language system is closely related to the way of thinking and the culture as the sumtotal of values of a community.

It may be extremely hard to make cultural features available from language and naturally only provisional conclusions may be reached, which nevertheless may throw surprisingly clear light on the classification and the culture concerned.

3. A SURVEY OF THE CLASSES

Before undertaking a survey of the various Luganda classes, it should be mentioned that a language and certainly an analysis of only a part of it, may not be treated as an independent system, without keeping constantly in mind the understanding one may have of the particular world and of human experience within it.¹

In other words the survey may not be cut off from its 'being-in-the-world' since the study is primarily intended to obtain an exploring view of this particular world as represented in the language.

There is no analysis at all possible which can succeed in arraying language in such a way as if it were an object, with the hope of gaining an insight in its constituent parts and producing detailed information about the underlying culture.

This insight or clearness into the language is usually only reached by the person who is de facto speaking or listening to the same language. Obscureness lures as

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- 1) 'The lexical content of a language (its total vocabulary) is not a mere conglomeration or aggregation of independent items and word meanings cannot be understood or adequately described as if it were.

The world as we know it is in part the product both of our culture and of the lexical system of our own language.

The meaning and use of most words are governed by the presence in the language or availability to a speaker of other words whose semantic functions are related in one or more ways to the same area of situational environment or culture". (Robins 1966:76).

soon as we try to illuminate underlying principles or reasons in order to understand the elements. (cf. Merleau-Ponty 1962:391).

It is a clarity which can only be immediately apprehended and by breaking it down we run the risk of diffusion.

"Language is a life, is our life and the life of the things.... It is the error of the semantic philosophies to close up language as if it spoke only of itself; language lives only from silence.... because he has experienced within himself the need to speak, the birth of speech as bubbling up at the bottom of his mute experience, the philosopher knows better than anyone that what is lived is lived-spoken, that, born at this depth, language is not a mask over Being, but - if one knows how to grasp it with all its roots and all its foliation - the most valuable witness to being, that it does not interrupt an immediation that would be perfect without it, that the vision itself, the thoughts itself are, as has been said, 'structured as a language' ". (Lacan 1966:125).²

By employing analytic categories whose contents are cultural objects or phenomena, the meanings of which are established and constantly re-established by the culture-bearers themselves in the course of their every-day life, a general theory develops, which may prove to be useful in order to understand why in some cultures people have learned so much more than others and why they learned

2) Thus classification becomes an instrument at the service of thought, the nouns indicating 'not a simple attribution of a name, but the expression of a possible action'. (Sinclair 1969:326).

such different things.

In order to provide data on this feature of similarity and difference in cultural theory, it would seem plausible to consider vocabularies (and other modes of expression) which result from daily interaction and experience, based on orientations which indicate the perception of 'reality'. In other words how people really view their culture world. Loosing sight of these differences would mean establishing a uniformity among peoples in the sense that the one culture is the same as the other, that there is no pluriformity of cultures.³

According to Kroeber and Kluckhohn "Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, and on the other, as conditioning of further action". (1952:181).

Cultural patterns are explicit in linguistic processes among persons who share them, including categories in

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- 3) Cultural Relativism: "The principle that experience is interpreted by each person in terms of his own background frame of reference, and social norms, and that these factors will influence perception and evaluation, so that there is no single scale of values applicable to all societies".
(Dictionary of Anthropology. New York. Philosophical Library 1956:454).

terms of which people perceive their surroundings. As such individuals in a particular society acquire, by means of the enculturation-process,⁴ various modes of expression, which reflect the way in which they view the ideological and cognitive operations which are prevailing in that milieu. To understand this world-view of people is to understand the people themselves. "This 'world-view' is clearly a part of culture, is related to choices and reflects an ideal". (Jones 1972:79; Szalay and Maday 1973:33; Szalay and Bryson 1973:166).

Thus one may be able to discover what affected their systems of thought, the framework as it were into which the belief in magic fits, the very reason for respect paid to ancestors and traditional rulers, the way in which they make use of their natural surroundings and so on.

To understand these aspects is indeed to understand the entire way of life. The anthropologist who intends to fully fathom and describe a culture has to carefully

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- 4) Enculturation Process: "The aspects of the learning experience which marks man off from other creatures, and by means of which, initially, and in later life, he achieves competence in his culture, may be called enculturation. This is in essence a process of conscious or unconscious conditioning, exercised within the limits sanctioned by a given body of custom. In enculturation not all adjustment to social living is achieved, but also all those satisfactions that, though they are of course a part of social experience, derive from individual expression rather than from association with others in the group". (Herskovits 1948:39-40).

explore these semantic domains, not only by discovering the terms themselves, but also by the way in which these concepts are interrelated within a particular domain. This may frequently lead him into other areas of inquiry. Thus the anthropologist becomes a disciple and interpreter in the service of the other rather than a scholar on his own terms, and as such, anthropology "seeks patterns not scientific laws, and interprets rather than explains". (Evans-Pritchard 1964:132).

Knowledge about a culture is aimed at understanding how experience is categorized in as far as these categories convey an impression which is shared by all the members of the community. At no point does this mean to say that it is necessary that every individual has this knowledge quite clearly in his mind all the time. In fact most of the time it will be an unconscious sharing which exists between them. It only becomes manifest when they speak about it reciprocally.

In the process of classifying phenomena, logic tends to be the main principle on which the classification is built, thus providing a general character to the interpretation.⁵

In Luganda a specific ordering is primarily, albeit not exclusively, reflected in a number of nominal classes, each of which, apart from a specific prefix, has a

5) "It seems likely that the logical operations underlying principles or ordering are finite and universal, but capable of generating an infinite number of specific orderings". (Tyler 1969:14).

characteristic example for the class.

All other objects within the class are members of that class in as far as they bear a resemblance or a relation or an analogy to the prototype representing the class.

For example:

- 1.class Prefix: mu - ba
ka, sse, nna, lu, wa, ki
Prototype: Man
Related to: human, supernatural, tribal beings.
- 2.class Prefix: mu - mi
Prototype: Trees
Related to: terrain, vegetation, living things.
- 3.class Prefix: en - en
em - em, ezi, ez,
Prototype: Animals
Related to: global impressions regarding animals,
fruit, seed, idea of togetherness.
- 4.class Prefix: ki - bi
Prototype: Things
Related to: lifeless objects 'to be used as'
- 5.class Prefix: li - ma
Prototype: Eyes
Related to: Objects of dual composition and
roundness
- 6.class Prefix: lu - n
Characteristic: something very tall, thin, long,
narrow. a peculiar augmentative
force.
- 7.class Prefix: ka - bu
Characteristic: something very small.
diminutiva and abstracta
- 8.class Prefix: tu
Characteristic: a very small quantity
- 9.class Prefix: gu - ga
Characteristic: augmentativa, derision.

10.class Prefix: Wa

The class contains only one word 'Wantu', used in combination with 'buli', meaning: everywhere.

11.class Prefix: ku

Characteristic: all infinitiva.

"Underlying the various groups of phenomena, however, there is a unity which alone can account for the overlapping of categories and for the fact that it is impossible to go beyond the level of description to achieve a scientific explanation, as long as one remains within the limits of any isolated category". (Rossi-Laudi 1977:402).

From experience it appears that classes are not to be considered as closed units. A certain amount of overlapping, due to the character of each class, is perceived. The borders are to be regarded as fluent and fluctuating. e.g. In class 1 the centre of attention is directed towards Man and specific qualities attributed to him. Class 2, in as far as human beings are concerned, represents Man in one specific quality only, namely: size, whilst class 3 depicts him in a depreciative condition, or even as a thing as is the case in class 4. In class 5 he is altogether absent, whilst class 6 re-enacts the feature of size, sometimes in a metaphorical sense. Class 7 describes him in a diminutive sense or in a figurative meaning as the case may be. The same holds true for all the other objects in the various classes. In a way one could say that the members of a community attribute to themselves the details as they are handed on by the linguistic system and that the cultural

structure inherent in the categories adds the dimension of conformation.

The nominal classes as presented here will be described and have been checked as carefully as possible within the circumstances, which means to say necessarily in terms of a western-outlook, since otherwise it would make little sense.

For the Muganda this sense is implied in the fact that his world of experience is being represented by terms of his own language and so for him "language is not an object but a mediation", that is to say "it is that by which and through which", he moves "towards reality (whatever that may be)". (Ricoeur 1967:16).⁶

It is to be noted that the leading criteria used in determining the various categories have not been proved and perhaps cannot be proved in a convincing way. They may however provide hypotheses which can be tested, thus contributing to the correctness of the approach.⁷

6) All this in order to grasp "his point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world". (Malinowski 1922:25).

7) Or as Hempel has put it: "It may suggest the general outlines of what should finally be supplemented to become a complete and reasoned argument on the basis of explanatory hypotheses with empirical support". (Hempel 1964:18).

4. A SURVEY OF THE FIRST CLASS

<u>Features of Being</u>	<u>Human</u>	physical features psychic features special features skills
	<u>Supernatural</u>	mythical - powerful - influential
	<u>Tribal</u>	honorific features kinship features features of place and origin
	<u>Periphery</u>	Body parts Diseases Animals Plants Features of important events Features of nature Features of artifact and habitat

The illustrated categories, as far as human beings are concerned, indicate a natural division between the various modes of being-in-the-world and it may be assumed that the features of the various nouns can be identified.

Apart from the classification provided by the language itself on the basis of morphological data, features of the nouns in this specific class may be further identified by means of a number of criteria, the recognition of which ultimately depends on a number of basic contrasts.

These divisions into sub-classes are in a sense extrapolated after the fact and are not necessarily experiences of which all people are constantly aware. The sub-classes also entail assumptions regarding interaction among men and between men and the environment concerned.

Thus the whole of community life will be divided into lin-

guistic units and as a result be described in terms of a structure even if this entails a lifting out of categories from the complexity of community life. The basis of this will be a functional basis. The sub-divisions are derived by means of inference, sometimes even subjective inference inspired by written information about the community or experience in the community. The objective however will not be lost, namely to provide a survey of a total community by means of a linguistic system, albeit in a selective manner, as long as this subjectivity remains a "disciplined subjectivity". (Mead 1970:59).

Differences between members of a community are revealed in their behaviour against the background of how the community does in fact expect them to behave. These variations materialize in the description of a sub-class the label of which, although not generally established, may all the same serve the function of a mental construction. The basis of this construction are the criteria on account of which some units are sorted into sub-classes and others are not.

This way of approach may not find favour in the eyes of many for the simple reason that the division into sub-classes is considered to have no bearing in the objective reality.

Common sense experience favours correctly that people and communities are not divided like this. Yet divisions as proposed here are not necessarily false even though, quite obviously, they are not complete. Social categories symbolized in daily interaction are much finer and much more specific.¹

Although culture in general may be defined as "An Historically derived system of explicit and implicit designs for living, which tends to be shared by all or specially designated members of a group" (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952:219) it is not always shared by all in the same quantity and the same quality, depending on status, age, sex, skill etc.

The characteristic element, serving as an example of the first class is Man and his relations to the things that surround him. The very language provides this identification. On the basis of this general idea the dimensions of the class are set by linguistic usage. The idea is expressed in a nucleus of terms containing the names of human beings and deities, described in a variety of functions and qualities, which range along a continuum the poles of which are appreciative versus depreciative. Thus some members of the class are exemplar in as far as they bear a resemblance to the prototype and others are ascribed according to a degree of similarity or relation to the prototype. The general criterion is present in the mind of people, actual or unconscious, and detectable only insofar it is expressed in language. As such it is an empirical criterion and contains few hypotheses.

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- 1) "The principles of structural analysis in linguistics are basic to all social sciences".
Levi-Strauss 1963:295).

"It does not aim at acquiring an exhaustive knowledge of societies. It is an attempt to derive constants found at various times and in various places from... efforts at observation and description".
(Levi-Strauss 1963:82-83).

Around the nucleus a periphery is situated, composed of a few names for specific parts of the human body and a larger number of dangerous diseases, some animals and some plants.

In the following account, with the general idea of the class in mind, further distinctions between groups of objects are drawn, which occur throughout the language.

4.1 PHYSICAL FEATURES

First of all a group of names which describe some sort of physical incapacity, wherein the influence of an unknown agent is believed to be present. This present state cannot be altered by the action of the person himself.

Everybody who through one or other spectacular action, an extraordinary quality or a peculiar physical defect or whatever else, draws the attention, can by virtue of this quality be considered to be a supernaturally gifted being. (cf. De Josselin de Jong 1913:203).¹

The social and cultural significance of this group must be viewed with respect to the part they contributed and the position they achieved during the course of time in a delicately balanced subsistence economy.

The truth of the matter is that this connotation cannot be postulated in advance but only be discovered a posteriori.²

1) "Ieder, die door een of andere opzienbarende handeling, door een vreemde eigenschap of een zonderling lichaamsgebrek ja door wat dan ook de aandacht trekt, kan reeds daardoor als een met bovennatuurlijke krachten begaafd wezen worden beschouwd". (De Josselin de Jong 1913:203).

2) "...dasz sich die nominale Gruppierung auf die objective Wirklichkeit stütze, so wie diese von der menschlichen Gesellschaft ganz abhängig von der menschlichen Psyche gesehen und gewertet wird, dieses sehen und werten der Dinge und in Ubereinstimmung damit das Gruppieren der Nomina ist in der primitiven, homogenen menschlichen Gesellschaft ganz abhängig von den ihr eigen-tümlichen magisch-religiösen Auffassungen und social-wirtschaftlichen Verhältnissen". (Lepsius 1880:78).

o muzibe, a sightless, visionless person who gropes about;³
o mututuuli, a person with a deformed back; o muwuda, some-
one born without speech or hearing; o muwuna, a person who
speaks like a child and is treated like one; o mutamba,
one who cannot walk properly; o mulaawe, a person who has
been castrated; o mulema, a person who cannot manage to
walk; o munaanaagize, one who stutters; o mukogge, a person
as thin as a skeleton; o muubotongo, a person suffering
from venereal disease; o mudembe, one who does nothing to
help himself; o mufiirwa, an impotent man; o mugenge, a
person suffering from leprosy; o mufuyibwa, a man who has
become sterile; o mufu, a dead man; o mulwadde, a person
suffering from any sickness; o musale, a person who has
been cut up; o mulwaddume, a very fat person; o muzibe,
a person who is constipated.

3) Although initially the words and their meanings have
been collected over a long period of time by personal
enterprise and with the aid of many inhabitants, for
the use in this manuscript, their number has been
largely extended and their meaning re-checked with the
Luganda Dictionary of R.A.Snoxall.

4.2 PSYCHIC FEATURES

In the same category a number of nouns are listed indicating disqualifications or wilful omissions, experienced as deliberate shortcomings and consequently resulting in some sort of discredit upon a person's character. It is a quality that exists inside the individual's head. However, any such quality is explicit in the sense that it is adequately verbalizable and consequently common knowledge.

The opinion of depreciation is experienced in relation to the unwritten laws of social behaviour.

The cause for this irregularity lies within the person himself for being as he is. "An approximate identification is very difficult, since native observations are so precise and finely shaded that the place of each element in this system often depends on a morphological detail or a mode of behaviour definable only at the level of varieties and sub-varieties". (Levi-Strauss 1972:6).

o mutene, a person who cannot resist temptation; o mutette, an innocent sort of fellow; o musiru, a mad, foolish person; o mutamiivu, one who is constantly and habitually drunk; o musiza, a person who does not care about his land; o muwemu, a person without shame regarding conventional behaviour; o muligo, a person without skill; o mukodo, a parsimonious individual; o mukumbi, one who walks with airs, likes to show off; o muboole, one who has no social contacts, expelled from the clan; o muboyi, one who takes something as security for the payment of a debt; o mudaalimbi, one who avoids difficult issues, fails in duty; o mufuutwa, a very niggardly person; o mugobyagobya,

one who badgers incessantly and is liable to cheat;
o muyonjo, one who smartens himself up; o muyunganyi,
a very restless and unstable person; o mugomba, unelegant,
graceless person; o mugginga, unintelligent stupid person;
o mufaadanga, o good for nothing; o mukatagga, uncultured
individual; o mujoozi, one who is in the habit of bullying
someone; o mussi, a murderer; o museesi, one who demands
exorbitant prices; o mutudettu, a very dirty person;
o muwaayirizi, one who accuses falsely or makes defamatory
remarks; o mwekanasi, a very difficult person to handle
or to live with; o muserengu, a very dirty individual who
is ashamed of it; o musiguzi, one who tries to use bribes;
o muyaganyaga, one who has no manners at all; o mutomi,
one who constantly complains of unfair treatment; o muti,
an easily frightened individual; o museegu, a filthy,
shameless person.

4.3 SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS

There are many words in class 1, without the distinguishing prefix *mu* in the singular. Here the individualising, usually expressed by the class prefix, is already given in the social situation and as a rule expressed in the language through the system of concords.

There are however many formative prefixes to be distinguished, which are not reflected in the concord but which nevertheless have significant meaning.

Nouns bearing such prefixes usually belong to class 1a and concord with the personal class 1. Their plural is indicated by the prefix *ba-*.

In this way *Ka* may be used in a derogatory or sarcastic sense, which underlines the general character of this category once more. Sometimes even the stem may be reduplicated adding augmentative force to the feeling of scorn or derision.

Ka may also be used as a diminutive. Whether it is used in the above mentioned situation or in a belittling sense is to become clear from the context in which it is used.

In such a case it belongs to the 7th class.

kalimi-ngobya, double tongued person who is out to cheat;
kaamuma, a person with extremely bad manners and no feeling for etiquette and customs; *kabandu*, an extremely foolish individual; *kafu*, one who constantly picks quarrels;
kadduwanema, one who has been crippled, a lame person;
kasajjafuba, one who inspires fear on account of his looks;
kapeeka, impertinent, incessantly begging individual;
kannaaluzaaala, messenger of evil fore-bodings; *kalungi-mutwe*, a person who looks very attractive but is in reality

very stupid; kalimbira, one who never speaks the truth; kagubiiru, an undersized person who is regarded as weak; kawenkene, an unavoidable, inescapable enemy; kawalococco, a long spidery sort of fellow, usually very poor; katongolekkungu, the prince of boasters; katoloba, a person who is in constant disharmony and very provocative; kasoomi, a person with a pointed cranium; kasiru, a dumb man, an idiot; kasandali, an ego-centered, selfish and irresponsible person; kaseemeza, a seducer; kasaagira, a flirtatious man; kagezi, a very clever person; kanyangezi, a sniffer.

Sse and Nna usually indicate rank or title or are used as terms of address, as we shall see later. The terms generally convey the idea of superfluity, abundance, great quantity, head of, principal of. Also people with special characteristics are often indicated by means of these prefixes.

Sse and nna, when used in this category, do not indicate a difference between sexes.

ssekadde, a venerable old man; ssempala, the poor fellow; ssekimpanika, a corpulent fellow; ssemubi, a very ugly fellow; ssebinagina, a corpulent person; ssebintu, a very rich person; ssabazira, the bravest of the brave; sseduvu, Mr. Glutton; ssekalooteera, Mr. Dreamer; ssempala, Mr. Poor Fellow; ssebintu, Mr. Croesus; sserulyamayenje, Mr. Happy go lucky; sserwali, Mr. One fine day;

nnalwenaanya, a woman of the street; nnamagoya, an unpigmented individual; nnamagalo, a six-fingered person; nnalukalakala, a danger loving, self reliant, fearless individual; nnakwale, an urchin, a miserable specimen of a

man; nnakitukula, an extremely white person; nnakinsungwa, an emasculated infertile person; nnakimpinginya, short, thick set stubby person; nnabyejeegula, one who is extravagant, regardless of cost; nnakigwanyizi, a happy go lucky, light minded individual; nnakifankenyere, an inelegant, ill bred individual; nnakayigiri, a dwarf; nnakampina, a dwarflike person; nnabuggwamu, an uninvited guest, trespasser; nnabikyusa, someone facing both ways; nnyonga, a very black negro; nnalwalubwa, one who is being used as a victim; nnasubwa, unlucky person liable to adverse circumstances; nnantawetwa, a resolved, determined person; nnantaganyula, a worthless person; nnamwetozzi, sensible, irascible short tempered person; nnamukundi, one with a prominent navel; nnamukono, a woman with shrunk breasts; nnampulirizabi, a person who is stone deaf; nnalulaba, an eyewitness; nnakamwantette, a tale-bearer; nnakamwambula, a bearer of stale news; nfiirabulago, a very old and trusted friend; ngumyambutwa, a very tough individual; nnabeerubeeru, an extremely white person; nnasajja, a very fine fellow.

The category as specified under no 1 also contains a number of nouns with the formative prefix ki, lu, wa, in the singular and ba, in the plural.

Wa is usually applied for the personification of animals and when so used it has no plural.

kigalla, an individual who is hard of hearing; kireeya, a person who travels from the one to the other; kipamira, intractable, unmanageable individual; kimbuyega, scruffy little fellow; kikomboza, woman of easy virtue; kikomboza, person who makes off with anything he sees;

kiggananenge, corpse which cannot be identified.

luwangula, the all conquering one; lunkupe, a person deprived of everything; lukumba, poor nervous timorous person; lukakajja, shriveled up scrawny individual; lujunju, habitual drunkard; lucoolo, a poor man; luzungazunga, clumsy, gawkish person;

walucocco, tall weak fellow, ungainly person; walugufu, a very thin person; wannalubiri, a tall thin person; wambwa, Mr. Dog; walugabi, Mr. Bushbuck; wakayima, Mr. Hare; wango, Mr. Leopard; wanjovu, Mr. Elephant; wankoko, Mr. Hen.

4.4 SKILLS

The next category of nouns, commanding a very high appreciation in the community, expresses an action for which a certain amount of skill or learning is required. The resulting prestations help to regulate the sphere of social relations and announce a person's identity within the community.

In any society an amount of learning and skill may be observed ranging from the very simple sort of information like cooking, washing, gathering food, folk-art etc to the more complex activities like those of artisans, medicine-men, witchdoctors, masons, carpenters etc. Information regarding the latter category is usually not distributed at random and it is a task of anthropological enterprise to find out the repressions that reduce free access to the various skills and to understand the processes which generate this attitude.

Some of the items as listed below represent skills as found throughout the population, whilst others are much more selective and are not within the reach of everyone. The reason may be that some highly standardized performances were not so much in demand in a pre-industrialized society. Possibly they were more carefully protected with a view to income and status. Others were simply privileged performances. Often it requires a great deal of counter prestige to come into the position of an apprentice for a certain profession, since the social prestige resulting from a skilfully delivered prestation is guarded with the utmost care and the knowledge often only passed on from father to son.

Most of the nouns in this category are derivatives, usually built on the perfect stem of the verb, and as such they denote the performer of an action for or on behalf of. (cf. Bentley 1887:528).

Moreover, in Luganda they are also recognised by a distinguishing suffix.

The suffix 'i' in combination with the mu, ba, prefixes expresses the performer of an action.

Skills may be displayed in the material objects produced or be accentuated by the effects produced in the services rendered to others. The valuation of the various roles will consequently be according to their relative prestige, in the sense of what others expect of it.

o mulesi, nurse; o mujjanjabi, nurse; o muyunzi, bone-setter; o musizi, teacher, sower; o mulagirizi, instructor; o musogoozi, brewer; o mulabirizi, bishop; o musonyi, tailor; o muzimbi, builder; o muserezi, thatcher; o mubassi, carpenter; o mulamussi, judge; o mulambuzi, inspector; o mutayirizi, one who circumcises; o mutuusi, merchant; o muvvuunuzi, interpreter; o muweesi, smith; o muleesi, one who stretches leather; o mulinzi, guard; o mulimi, cultivator; o mukomazi, maker of bark-cloth; o mukonyi, cobbler; o mubaasi, butcher; o mubumbi, potter; o mulunzi, herdsman; o musuubuzi, retail trader; o mutunzi, tailor, merchant; o mutezi, trapper, one who lies in wait; o mutonyi, painter; o musenyi, one of the main participants in fishing with a dragnet; o muvubi, fisherman; o muvuzi, driver; o muyizzi, hunter; o muyimbi, singer; o muzinyi, dancer; o muwandisi, writer, secretary; o muwonzi, fetish worshipper; o muwozi, pleader; o musimi, excavator;

o musoosi, author, originator; o musezi, sorcerer who works at night; o muteebi, marksman; o muzizi, tracker in hunting who locates game for others; o muwuuzi, the second man to throw a spear in hunting animals; o muwozi, lender; o mudussi, a very fast runner; o mupakasi, workman; o mugamuzi, one who brings in food from the country; o mufumbi, cook; o muyambi, helper; o musazi, one who cuts, a judge; o musabi, one who makes a request; o musu, one who grinds; o mussoggozi, digger of potatoes; o museezi, one who sells very deer; o mugassi, mediator; o mukulembezi, guide; o mukozi, workman; o mwenzi, sweeper; o mwetissi, porter; o muyizi, student; o mutambezi, ritual executioner; o musaasi, provisioner; o muwaabi, accuser; o mutabaazi, soldier; o mususi, peeler of plantains; o mutalisi, postman; o mutasi, spy; o mutabanguzi, agitator; o mugezi, clever person.

In the same way the suffix 'a' in combination with the mu, ba, prefixes, expresses the performer of an action, but in contrast to the nouns with the suffix 'i' it is usually attached to the simple form of the verb. (cf. Ashton 1954: 377).

o mukyondwa, bone-setter; o mulerwa, mid-wife; o muzaalira, mid-wife; o muyigiriza, teacher; o mugoma, drummer; o muyiisa, brewer; o mufuusa, conjurer; o mulanga, harpist; o muwooza, tax-gatherer; o mutaka, guardian of clan lands; o muwanika, steward; o muweereza, attendant; o mukkunnaanya, news collector; o muwuula, sub-shepherd; o musumba, shepherd; o muggya, recruit; o musomesa, teacher; o musagala, cow-herd; o mugoma, drummer; o muzaalisa, mid-wife; o musutwa, a well beloved person; o mupulirwa, witness; o muwolereza,

interceder; o muwawaabirwa, defendant.

The suffix 'o' in the same combination indicates the result of what the verb denotes. (cf. Ashton 1954:377).

o musaawo, doctor; o musenero, brewer, beer taster, wife who keeps the brewing utensils; o mufumbiro, cook; o mulogo, wizzard; o mulaalo, herdsman; o muvundo, a rich person.

Whilst the suffix 'e' expresses the state of the person himself.

o musirikale, soldier; o mutongole, sub-chief; o mutume, apostle; o musigire, steward; o mulaamire, heir; o muleere, flute-player; o mulaawe, eunuch; o mulaabe, ennemy; o musibe, prisoner; o musuze, guest; o munyage, captive after raid; o mukegere, cute running person; o mwegendereze, cautious person; o musenze, servant; o mutume, messenger; o mwesengeze, tenant; o muwannanguze, exile.

In this category are only a few prefixless nouns:

gundi, what's his name; ddiikoni, deacon; mekanika, mechanic; kalaani, clerck.

4.5 SUPERNATURAL FEATURES

The subject of religious practices,¹ raised in this category of the first class, has been the object of many studies in English as well as in Luganda. (cf. Welbourn 1962, 1965; Kagwa 1952; Nsimbi 1956; Rigby 1972; Fallers 1964; Manners 1971, 1972).

The name of God in general and the names of other deities in particular underline the prominent feature of the first class once more.

The powerful influence of the supernatural must be seen in relation to the subject who experiences this authority within his personal existence as 'agentes' with the power to please or to displease Man.

A spirit cannot die, it is above the power of death and consequently it must control death and the causes leading to death. In this way the cultural feature helps to rationalize the reality of death as an inevitable ending of human life and the misfortunes befalling man in his daily existence.

It is a common believe that supernatural as well as natural forces can be influenced as long as suitable terminologies and mannerism are employed. The situation may equally well be reversed in the sense that supernatural forces make their influence felt in human affairs

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- 1) "Only with the entry of the 'spirit' into man does he become fully human; and he is then called upon to relate himself to the time-space dimension in action. By virtue of being centred, thereby having both a focus and a direction, man's actions become sacred". (Wosien 1974:7).

or in the animal world, the latter of which can in turn successfully be manipulated by man. As such no one has all the power or all the knowledge and very often one turns to circumstances for explaining beneficial or detrimental events.²

Apart from the recent words used for divine beings, introduced by non-traditional religions, a large number of names for pagan deities point to mythological and totemistic trends in the community.³

In this respect an indiscriminate or wholesale introduction of foreign elements, whether this be religion, ideology or foreign ways of life, may be the cause of a mental or spiritual harm, often resulting in feelings of inferiority and self-depreciation, or even in a loss of identity.

The features in this category include subdivisions as quantity, extent, movement, atmosphere, direction, place, animals, disease.

"To the primitive mind the social power of the word, experienced in innumerable cases, becomes a natural and

2) In this way it is that "All sacred things must have their place. If taken out of place the entire order of the universe would be destroyed. Sacred objects therefor contribute to the maintenance of order in the universe by occupying the places allocated to them. They are explicable by a concern for what one may call 'micro-adjustment' the concern to assign every single creature, object or feature to a place within a class".(Fletcher 1904:34).

3) "....by a higher poetical conception, by which human agency is transferred to other beings, and even to inanimate things, in consequence of which their personification takes place, forming the origin of almost all mythological legends." (Bleek 1962:59).

even supernatural force. Primitive man feels himself surrounded by all sorts of visible and invisible dangers. To him the world is not a dead or mute thing, it can hear and understand". (Cassirer 1970:121).

An explanation of the complete realm of religion and the supernatural is not possible in this philosophy, but it does provide an entry to the understanding of how people regard the supernatural and base their world-view on it. Man's belief in the spirits takes a central position in his daily existence. The whole of the universe is as it were occupied by spirits, in a variety of functions and power and all capable of applying this power for a good or a bad end.

o mulokozi, saviour; o mununuzi, redeemer; o mutonzi, creator; o mujoobe, a lubaale spirit, a possessed person who eats lizards; o mukasa, lubaale of lake Victoria; o musisi, deity who was thought to cause earthquakes; o musoke, the god of rains; o mulubaale, medium in a lubaale worship; o mulogo, wizzard; o musawo, healer; o mulaguzi, prophet; o musamize, medium; o mukakali, chief of wizzards; o muganga, curer, healer;

It is not very uncommon that a person who acts as a medium is at the same time a healer or a prophet, although "medicine men though not definitely connected with the temples and the Gods, were regarded as belonging to the religious class of the country; they formed a most powerful body and were greatly feared.

The priests and the mediums had little power in comparison with the medicine men". (Roscoe 1911:277).

A study of Kivuto Ndeti has indicated "that the name of a witch doctor in the majority of African languages coincides with wisdom. He was always a man with wisdom, based on practical knowledge. Unlike his counterpart, the sorcerer.....he practiced his work in public.....it was an open secret that anyone could scrutinize".

(Ndeti 1978:180).

Everything in the supernatural sphere in the sense of the uncanny, inspired awe or fear, and this idea is represented within this category of the first class with regard to the complex spiritual world of ancestor spirits, clan spirits, river and hill spirits, hero gods, together with all sorts of religious offices.

The concept does not coincide with the supernatural as understood in western terminology, but must rather be regarded as a stage between the personal and the impersonal. The Gods are rulers of the total system of the earth, standing outside that system and at the same time partaking in it.

Kiganda religion cannot be regarded as a unified system of beliefs and rituals, since a great variety of priests, prophets, mediums, sorcerers and medicine men constantly put a personal claim to the magic spiritual world, as the circumstances or the occasions demand it.

In Kiganda society this religious phenomenon is one of the causes of social stratification⁴ often linked in this

4) "Social stratification implies that social groups or categories are ranked hierarchically".
(Tuden and Plotnicov 1970:2).

lineage-oriented society to ancestor worship. This may explain the Baganda's strong kinship attachment.

In the same way as in Lugbara Religion "The elders at their head justify the power and privileges as much by their access to the altars of the ancestors as by their genealogical position, so much so that a man who can successfully invoke the dead may be accepted as the true elder". (Middleton 1960:12).

This view is supported by many authors who consider Kiganda religion, however difficult to define, as one of the domains of social power, on a par with the political and economic systems. cf. Rigby 1972; Fallers 1964; Manners 1971, 1972;.

"The awefulness felt to attach to the dead body itself" (de Josselin de Jong 1913:185) may be one of the reasons for this ancestor worship⁵ and perhaps even the psychological root of primitive religion. In any case it explains the great reverence the people have for their deceased, apart from the social structure⁶ which demands it.

What concerns us here is that everything one hears and feels, like thunder, lightning, wind, rain, creates the impression of an 'unbestimmtes Wesen', 'Das Belebende' or 'Das was einen Menschen befällt'. (Meinhof 1906:6).

5) "Among many African societies the preservation of the bodily remains of the dead (or even of the living, such as hair clippings) was a duty as well as a sacred custom". (cf. Willoughby 1928).

6) Social structure: "The arrangements by which an orderly social life is maintained". (Harris 1969:517).

The world of man consists out of created beings and things, is full of spirits and supernatural powers, is a world in which the dead play an equally important part as the living.

This notion of the relation between the human and the super human is based on the way in which reality is perceived and experienced either as harmful or as beneficial.

In this light the following nouns must be regarded, again paying attention to the formative prefixes nna, lu, ki, indicating rank, title or a form of adress. The prefix nna, when used as a title or rank then indicates the female sex.

Katonda, God, Creator; nnamugereka, synonym for God; nnagaddya, a goddess, typical name in the Lugave clan; nnakumi, goddess, wife of Mukasa, person with a hare-lip; nnagawonye, goddess of rain and food; nnakayaga, goddess of tempest; nnamalere, those inspired by this deity beat on trees with their heads and split the trees to provide a passage; nnalwoga, name of a goddess; nnamugeta, goddess supposed to cause calamities;

luyisi, a man possessed ny this deity used to crunch bones; lule, god of rain; lubanga, a lubaale spirit; lubaale, pagan god, firmament;

Kitinda, lubaale spirit to whom crocodiles were sacred; kagolo, name of god, Juppiter the thunderer; kiwanuka, god of thunder; kizito, patron divinity of soothsayers; kibuuka, war god; kizuuzi, diviner employed to find lost things; kawagga, deity supposed to be responsible for

bringing the bubonic plague; kawumpuli, deity who was supposed to cause sickness and whose shrine was in the woods of Buyege in Busiro;

mayanja, heaten deity incarnated in the leopard; walusi, deity of storms and meteors; wamala, deity whose votaries wore red berries round the neck; wannema, lubaale deity; nnenda, tutelary deity of Kyaggwa.

4.6 HONORIFIC FEATURES

The usage of title or honorific names is a cultural trait which suggests that the connected social class is an important factor in Kiganda relations.

From time immemorial¹ the Baganda have known no other ruler above their Kabaka² in their kingdom and it is commonly accepted that they still do not recognise any other person whose authority does not derive from the Kabaka. The Baganda cannot exist as a people unless the Kabaka is the head of the political structure in his kingdom.

The following account is concerned with the old Kiganda system of government and tends to give an impression of the pomp of the king and of his divinely derived power. The various descent groups or clans³ who occupied the territory before the 19th century, ultimately depended largely on the leadership, authority and influence of the Kabaka. (cf. Mair 1933:187:205; Richards 1960:45-46; Fallers 1964:91; West 1964:1-2).⁴

Although many offices were hereditary even then the chiefs had to be appointed by the king. In this appointive system the Kabaka ruled at will and was in fact in a strongly

1) The present Kabaka is supposedly the 35th since Kintu, the founder of the Baganda.
(Richards 1954:43; Fallers 1964:75).

2) The Kabaka is a 'primus inter pares'.
(Kaggwa 1949; Kabuga 1963:2).
"The two most conspicuous and important forms in which the royal genealogy was kept were the royal jawbone shrines and the royal tombs". (Kaggwa 1949).

centralised control, in which the autonomy of the chief was reflected in the autonomy of the kingship itself.

Bataka chiefs of land

Kabaka--Bakungu--Baami--Batongole political elite
----Bakopi⁵.

Basenze chiefs of governed land.

The appointive system entailed that the chief and office holders were initially placed in a non-hereditary role, but in the course of history the situation often changed into a royal descent group.⁶ To understand this kingly power, it should be noticed that the Kabaka was considered a law unto himself, an absolute monarch.

Common opinion held him to be of divine origin,⁷ from which he derived the right to make decisions, issue orders and apply sanctions with regard to the other members of his society.

As such the power vested in the chiefs does not only differ with that of the king in extent and intensity, but also in the nature of that power.(cf.Balandier 1972:47).⁸

".....Claiming descent from the Gods or of linking their

3) "There was nothing in Buganda as socially degrading as being clanless". (Kiwanuka 1972:5).
The usual criterion for defining a clan is unilineal descent.

4) "The politico-economic hierarchy in Buganda before 1900 was based upon a number of chiefly offices, mainly appointive, but increasingly hereditary. They included princes, palace officials, clanheads, councillors, and military leaders and culminated in the office of the king".(Rigby 1976:119).

high offices with heavenly powers, because even if such a claim did not make them Gods, it at least put them above other men". (Kiwanuka 1971:92).

The importance of the Kiganda royal system is reflected in a great variety of terms:

- o mutanda, a title of the king; o mulangira, prince;
- o mumbejja, princess; o mukweya, royal retainer;
- o mulungiro, kabaka's pipefiller; o mujoona, royal potter;
- o mutette, old man in charge of the firewood of the king;

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- 5) "In addition to being the residuary administrators of their areas, the Bakungu were, to begin with, both personal representatives of the Kabaka and supporters of his throne. They were too, the powerful disposers of jurisdiction over land and peasants and political leaders of the utmost importance". (Low and Prat 1960:47)

Baami sg omwaami is an honorific title used for any important chief.

"Those on the clan-system who had been traditionally entitled to certain burial estates or clan-lands, and who lost those lands during the parcelling out of free-hold, became the first political force in Buganda. The clan-system thus formed the 'natural' opposition to a government of chiefs. This resulted in considerable internal dissension. Gradually the Bataka, or clan groups, came to represent the Bakopi, or peasantry.

Land holding had become almost synonymous with prestige and social position". (Apter 1961:364).

Batongole sg mutongole, sub-chief directly responsible to the king only.

Basenze sg musenze, chief who used to be sent by the Kabaka to occupied territory.

Hence the expression: Musenze alanda, Busenze muguma: a tenant spreads, because he is constantly increasing his holding.

o muyinza, one having power; o mugabe, general;
o mummyuka, second in command; o mujaasi, commander in
chief; o mukungu, high ranking chief; o mummyampala,
headman; o mutwasi, person in charge; o mukakali,
chief of the wizzards; o mufuzi, ruler; o mukama, lord;
o mukulembeze, leader; o mutongole, chief holding his
position from the Kabaka; o musiige, boy or girl send
to serve a king or chief; o musale, fifth chief in rank;
o musebeyi, inferior wife of chief or king; malyo, gourd
grower of the kabaka; masiko, sweeper of the kabaka's
courtyard; masisa, keeper of the royal latrine; mugema,
old title of chief under kabaka; mulamba, king's head
gatekeeper; mwanje, one in charge of the kabaka's
poultry; mwanga, former king of Buganda; mutesa, name of
king of Buganda; munnekyeyo, sweeper of the king's
courtyard.

The chiefdom in all its ranks, is closely related to the
land held in possession or in occupation and consequently
to the products thereof. In this way the power of the
chief becomes not only a derived power from the kabaka,
but also a power based on tributes from the land in terms

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- 6) "Our general hypothesis is that the instrumental-
hierarchical type of system can innovate with ease,
untill the kingship principle is challenged, at which
point the entire system joins together to resist
change".(Apter 1966:351).
 - 7) Culture historians have stressed aspects of the so-
called divine kingship, such as burial customs, the
sacred fire and the claims to have ascended from the
Gods".(Huntingford n.d. 86-88).

of goods and services, in trade for the right to exploit the land.⁹

One of the main changes was the continuing process of trying to improve their own position, mainly by internal struggle to get away from the patronage of some higher official or even the king himself.¹⁰

ssaabataka, the kabaka as overlord of the land; ssekibobo, chief of Kyaggwe; lumaama, chief of Kabula; kangaawo, chief of Bulemezi county; mbuubi, chief of Buvuma; kkweba, chief of Ssesse islands; kaggo, chief of the county of Kyaddondo; mukwenda, chief of Ssinga county; kimbugwe, chief of Bululi county; luweekula, chief of Buweekula county; mugema, chief of Busiru; kalma, chief of Mawokota;

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- 8) "...Anthropologists like Lloyd Fallers (in Bantu Bureaucracy 1956) have interpreted the modern developments of traditional political structures as ensuring the transition of a 'patrimonial' system of authority to a bureaucratic system. The type of traditional domination, in which personal relations are used exclusively as a support for the political authority.....The most widespread aspect is that known as patrimonial. Its norm is custom, regarded as inviolable its mode of authority is essentially personal and its organization entails no administration in the modern sense. It employs dignitaries rather than functionaries; there is no separation between the private and the public sphere".(Balandier 1972:45).
- 9) "As is to be expected of any agrarian society, land in Buganda is, and has been, the greatest source of sustenance and wealth. However, its distribution and what it produces as a result of human labour have undergone a number of significant changes in the last hundred years or so".(Mafeje 1976:25).

kituuzi, chief of Gomba; pokino, chief of Budu; kasuju, chief of busujju; katambala, chief of Butambula.

The result of it all was "some social mobility in Buganda, the traditional systems providing the possibility of upward (and downward) movement in the politico-economic hierarchy". (Perlman 1970:141).

This system of social mobility has been described in a great number of instances. (cf. Apter 1961; Richards 1954, 1960, 1963, 1964; Soutwold 1961; Wrigley 1964; Kiwanuka 1972; Low and Prat 1960; Roscoe 1911; Kagwa 1952; Mair 1934; Fallers 1964).

In the following enumeration attention again should be paid to the formative prefixes sse, nna, lu and ki, used to indicate title or rank. Here sse and nna are also used to indicate the difference in sex.

A remarkable feature is that the princesses are always greeted with the masculine Ssebo instead of the feminine Nnyabo. The same is true for the masculine terminology of the word Ssenge, meaning aunt on father's side.

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- 10) "It was in effect a system of political 'estates' manipulated by those who presided over them and each other in hierarchy, and by the king himself". (Manners 1971:86-150).

"My basic position about population and the transition to feudalism (political-economic system) is that non-kinship redistribution systems, at each step toward centralization of economic and political power, influenced the producers to create more of a 'surplus' (Orans 1966:24-32)- that producers responded to this coercion by increasing the number of their children i.e. their domestic labour power (Polgar 1972, 1973) as well as intensifying their use of the land". (Polgar 1975:8).

ssabalangira, the head of the princes; ssabaganzi, maternal uncle of the kabaka, one of the three notables allowed to greet the king standing; ssegwanga, title of the kabaka, cock, since two cocks are not in the same place; ssewava, son of princess and commoner; sseruti, king's head brewer; ssekabaka, term used for a dead kabaka; ssebalija, chief herdsman of the king's cattle; ssebaddu, head of servants of chief not living in the compound; ssensalire, head of the king's milkmen; ssemanda, smith;¹¹

nnaabagereka, name of the Queen; nnaabakyala, head of the wives; nnaalinya, queen-sister; nnaamasole, queen-mother; nnasaza, chief's second wife; nnamutinda, wife of the king while in purdah; nnabikande, king's aunt who was mid-wife to all the king's wives;

Additional wives of the king: kabeja, nanzigu, lulga, kikoma, nakalu, baita, sabadu, katikamu, munyuwa, mukolera; luwaga, title of the kabaka; lumoonjera, flutist of the reign of Guma; lubuga, queen-sister; laba, master of ceremonies; lukulwe, head chief; luwangula, name of great conquerer;

kyukyu, it was once the name of the kabaka because he was fierce and could not be approached; kimbugwe, title of the keeper of the king's umbilical cord; kintu, first king of Buganda; kigano, courtesan; kiyini, chief royal tanner;

11) The word 'semanda' is a compound containing the word 'amanda' i.e. charcoal. Hence the expression 'Ssemanda agalimenya embazzi n'okuyunga' charcoal both breaks and welds axes. It is all powerful and hence used as a synonym for the Kabaka.

kiweewa, eldest son of the king; kabaka, king, queen;
kabejja, title of the king's second wife; kaddulubale,
chief wife of the king; kalindaluzzi, royal fountain-
master; kayungirizi, a runner carrying official news;
kawuula, chief of the royal drummers; kawulukusi, courier;
kattikiro, prime minister or any chief minister; kawuka,
royal herdsman; kawuuta, chief of the royal cooks; kunera,
name of one of the kings; kkwini, queen; gabunga, chief
in charge of canoes; nnakyeyo, royal sweeper; nnakibinge,
name of one of the old kings of Buganda; nnamusu, keeper
of the royal latrines; wamala, the one who brought up
the rear in procession of courtiers; llijenti, regent;
kalabalaba, master of ceremonies.

4.7 KINSHIP FEATURES

Nouns conveying an idea of the complicated kinship terminology and persons belonging to the household in one way or another stand together in class 1.

Kinship in Kiganda society, with all its rules and regulations about marriage and property, is an important factor, for not only does it provide the individual with a sense of belonging and safety, but more important it supplies the economic and social system with units for holding the natural resources.¹

As such family structure and family units are the elements out of which the social, economic and political systems are basically constructed.

Common origin provides the individual with an identity together with the fact of sharing common resources.

Status and function are the reasons for differentiation between members and for the distribution of authority.

Customs and rites safeguard to a certain extent the stability in a society.

In the kinship system the intimacy of custom is safeguarded, comprising the order of relationships, paternal authority, the right to property and inheritance, even though in the Buganda situation the kin-systems were to

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- 1) The relation between terminology and institution is described by Kroeber as follows: "Institutions probably shape terminologies causally, but in the main by influencing or permitting a logical scheme. In a sense, this logical scheme underlies both institution and terminology, so that the correlation between them, although actual, can be conceived of as indirect". (Kroeber 1952:189; orig 1919).

a large extent superseded by state-organization, supplanting the kin-based land holdings.²

The structure of Kiganda society underwent considerable change during the colonial period, especially with regard to the system of land tenure. (cf. Richards 1960, 1963; Fallers 1964).

Other factors of change were brought about by the introduction of cash-crops, the introduction of foreign religions and a western type of education, the result of which was a new elite and a new type of hierarchy.³

Anthropology concerned with differences and similarities of the ways in which people organize their world of existence, finds this organization represented to a considerable extent in the kinship systems.⁴

Anthropologists have always concerned themselves with the study of kinship systems. (cf. Millar 1771, Morgan 1870,

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- 2) Kinship entails the following features: "A family unit that is extended, encompassing many degrees of relationships besides those of husband-wife and parents-children; a strong emphasis on descent through family group and clan group; an almost universal tendency to make political authority dependent on family and lineage; and a loyalty to chieftainship that is linked to spiritual as well as temporal power".(Richards 1940:82).
 - 3) "...The net effect of the colonial era was a marked heightening of tribal consciousness and a deepening of tribal differences".(Gulliver 1969:16).
 - 4) "The study of groups, especially those organized along territorial and political lines and the interrelationships among these, constitute the core of social-structural phenomena".(Radcliffe-Brown 1952:193).

Lowie 1915, Malinowski 1913, Radcliffe-Brown 1914,1924). These anthropologists and for that matter also historians have set about sorting out the many kinship relations in order to catalogue them into types and categories for the purpose of disentangling the social-structural aspects of the societies concerned, even if the result often was a diffusion in terminology.

In exploring the Kiganda relations one may best describe the Baganda as "a group united by a common name in which members take a pride, by a common language, by a common territory, and by a feeling that all who do not share this name are outsiders, 'enemies' in fact".(Huntingford 1963:66).

First of all an enumeration of a number of terms which can only be used inalienably with their possessive pronoun:

nnyabo, my mother; kitange, my father; mange, my mother;
baze, my husband; mwanyinaze, my brother or sister;

o mulongo, twin; o mukadde, parent; o mukulu, elder;
o mubbeere, step-brother or sister; o mufuuzi, orphan;
o muggulanda, firstborn; o muzadde, parent; o mwate, girl
no longer a virgin; o muzeyi, old man; o musika, heir;
o musajja, husband; o mujjwa, nephew, niece; o mufumbo,
married person; o mukaamwana, daughter-in-law; o muvubuka,
youth; o muwaala, girl; o mugole, bride; o mulenzi, boy;
o muwere, new-born infant; o mukazi, woman; o muzaana,
female slave; o muto, child; o mutooto, youngster;
o mulaamire, heir; o mukyala, lady of the house; o mukata,
child slow in developing; o mukirodi, small pretty girl;
o muwumirizi, man who gives away the woman; o muwumirize,

woman who is handed over; o muwuulu, bachelor; mukkodomi, brother-in-law of a man; muko, brother-in-law of a man; muka, wife; munywami, bloodbrother; musangi, wife's sister's husband; muggya, concubine; muganda, brother, sister; mulamu, sister-in-law of a woman; ssemaka, householder; sseruganda, brother; sserwajja, visitor; ssemwandu, widower; ssenga, aunt on father's side; ssewamuko, father of the bride; ssezaala, father-in-law of the bride; ssabalongo, father of twins; nnamugeta, name of an aborted child, God supposed to cause calamities; nnalugongo, eldest wife; nnaava, child of princess and peasant; nnakazadde, title of parent in his own village; nnakawere, mother of tiny infant; nnakato, second born of girl twins; nnakafuga, mistress of the house; nnyanzala, mother-in-law; nnatuukirira, vigorous infant; nnannanda, sister; nnannwandu, widow; nnakabutuzi, parent or wife or husband or woman who owns a house; nnakyayombekadde, woman house owner; kogongo, proper name for elder of male twins; kizibwe, daughter of father's sister; kitiginya, bouncing baby; kojja, uncle, mother's brother; butyampa, very small child; jjajja, grandfather, grandmother, ancestor; kanya, name of child born next after twins; kato, proper name for the first born of male twins.

4.8 FEATURES OF PLACE AND ORIGIN

A distinguishing feature may also be observed from the place of origin from which a person derives an additional quality in as far as his own identity is concerned.

Language often serves as an important factor in spatial organization and in the orientation of human beings, since it is easier to recognize a certain place if one can associate it with a verbal label. In this way the memory of a common origin is reflected and tribal unity confirmed.¹

Terms denoting a place of origin or serving as spatial orientation are grouped together in this category of class 1.

It seems that people who still live in close harmony with their natural surroundings have a practical sense for spatial orientation due to the fact that they imbue the landscape with social significance. In this sense "Culture is a timeless system of logical categories".

(Harris 1969:600).

Through it the world becomes meaningful precisely by making distinctions and classifying place. The meaning of nature, in the sense of the natural environment, takes the form of an expression of a cognitive domain. Culture has a

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- 1) "The tribe is always a territorial unit. If one of its bands is cut off from the rest, the members of the new unit will be unable to maintain personal relations with their fellow-tribesmen and the memory of a common origin will soon fade". (Linton 1936:232).

special relationship to nature, mediated through place, so that through consistent choices a particular image of the world is created, in which exists a relation between environment and human activities.²

o muzaaliranwa, native, aboriginal; o muyanja, member of the heart clan; o mungereza, englishman; o munyami, type of indian; o munyolo, native of Bunyoro; o musese, native of Ssese islands; o muvuma, native of Buvuma; o muwalabu, arab; o mutara, old name for a munyoro; o musoga, native of Busoga; o mulunnaana, man from the coast; o mubirigi, a belgian; o mudaaki, a german; o muganda, native of Buganda; o mugwira, foreigner, stranger, alien; langa, dwarf like a member of the forest tribe of Kyaggwa; mumansi, native of a county; nnakabala, native born person; munnaggwanga, foreigner.

2) This especially becomes evident with regard to locations where important events usually take place, such as circumcision, worship, court-meetings and so on.

4.a BODY PARTS

It will be sufficiently clear that there is no question in this personal class of a substantial periphery.

The names of persons and deities, represented in all ranks and functions have ascended to a solitary high level. The names of animals, trees, things etc., just as in Jaunda did not go along as a group. (cf. Wils 1936:367).¹

In this prefixless category of class 1, a few names for specific parts of the human body are mentioned.

The living human body is considered as a complex unit in which the various parts cannot function without the other parts.

In the personal experience of the individual, the body is divided into parts, not in clear-cut natural divisions, but in parts as he can see, feel and experience them.

In this way each culture developed its own way of categorizing the parts of the body in a way most relevant to the members of that culture, with a view to the appropriate behaviour connected with each category.

Some parts of the body may be exposed to or touched by others, and some may not or only in specific circumstances.

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- 1) "The magic function of the word was eclipsed and replaced by its semantic function. The word is no longer endowed with mysterious powers, it no longer has an immediate physical or supernatural influence. It cannot change the nature of things and it cannot compell the will of Gods or demons.....Physically the word may be declared to be impotent but logically it is elevated to a higher, indeed to the highest rank. The Logos becomes the principle of the universe and the first principle of human knowledge". (Cassirer 1970:122).

From the enumeration of the parts of the body in the various classes of Luganda, the categories are already given. The point is that culture provides a classification of these body parts together with the conception about the function of each category as it is experienced in that culture.

Anthropologists and linguists have recorded these words used for different body parts in many societies and these terms are used to study the categories of those parts. (cf. Franklin 1963:54,63).²

ddyo, right hand; kkwemmembekedde, second finger; nnaswi, little finger, little toe; kakokola, elbow; nnabaana, uterus; kaamugole, iris of the eye; bbumwe, top of the hipbone; nnamuguma, intestine; nnayiga, coxal bone; nnyinda, uterus; ssebusa, colon.

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- 2) "For pursuing strictly linguistic approaches to semantics a variety of methods exist (cf. Coseriu and Geckeler 1974; Nida and Taber 1972). Of these componential analysis is most familiar to anthropologists because it has been applied to kinship nouns to segregate metaphorical usages from the basic 'denotata' for kin nouns as provided by the names of positions (father, father's brother, father's brother's son etc) on a genealogical chart. (cf. Burling 1970, Goodenough 1956, Lounsbury 1963, Tyler 1969). However, Liston argues that the Serbo-Croatian set of names for body-parts is completely analyzable only when the metaphorical usages are included in the mapping of the denotata themselves". (McCormack 1978:8). (Structural analysis of terms for parts of the body in Serbo-Croatian. J.L.Liston 1978).

4.b DISEASES

Categories enumerating various diseases and sicknesses in Luganda are not to be regarded as separate independent units without any relevance to categories described within other settings.

They should be viewed rather on different levels within what Frake calls 'taxonomic hierarchies' and consequently within the framework already given in the very language itself. (Frake 1961:118).

The language does not give an accurate scientific definition of the medical terms but only "a scientific accurate knowledge of everything in the speakers's world".

(Bloomfield 1933:64).

So it becomes possible that "there is a strong and widespread belief that certain maladies are 'african' whilst others are 'european' and that different measures must be taken in treating them". (Soutall and Gutkind 1957:111).

In the course of time people have come to recognize the various kinds of afflicting maladies and come to learn a certain effectiveness in curing them. This effectiveness is not only due to the administration of the appropriate medicine but to a certain extent also to the fact of an intimate personal knowledge of the one who suffers and to the knowledge of what is likely to be troubling him in other spheres of his personal existence.

Thus the diagnosis of disease resulted in a folk-taxonomy consisting of the categories of disease and the external circumstances by which they could be recognised.

This situation is beautifully described by Gilges with regard to his experiences with a medicine man in Northern Rhodesia: "How far he was herbalist and how far a witch-

doctor I could never fathom, but I regret that I shall never possess his knowledge of african psychology, and his art in the treatment of his fellow man, that, coupled with scientific medical knowledge, might have made a most useful combination". (Gilges 1955:20).

The actual disease may vary greatly as an incapacitating factor with a direct bearing on fecundity such as malaria, syphilis, gonorrhoea, or on a premature death as a result of tuberculosis, plague etc. As such they are differentiated within the various classes. It seems that the diseases enumerated in the first class refer to a large extent to the categories already mentioned and to what is considered to be very dangerous or very painful.

In this way many diseases have become known to the people either by their outward appearance in as far as they e.g. leave a mark on the body, or by their disturbing or incapacitating effect in general.

Often it is reported by physicians working in the field of developing countries, that patients, after having consulted them, also seek the advice of their native doctors, in whom they have no doubt a great confidence. This phenomenon may be explained that either the physician is believed to have no sufficient insight in the circumstances causing the disease or on account of the absence of a well established and trusted ritual in the procedure.

The consult of the traditional doctor often seems to sort a better effect than the visit to the modern physician. Whether this be explained in terms of the skill of the doctor, the effect of the therapy or the faith of the consultant, is a matter to be debated yet.

Certain is that "In African medicine, the concept of disease first takes into account the role of the spirits of dead ancestors. This concept is found in almost all African societies.

Because of the organic and psychological relations that exist between the living and the dead, the spirits of dead ancestors seem to take a keen interest in the affairs of the living. They regulate the general conduct of individuals in African societies in mysterious ways".

(Ndeti 1978:186).¹

Here the evidence shows the relation between disease and other cultural factors.

nnadduma, pains in the back; nnakasiki, anaemia; nnamusuna, chicken pox; nnampwa, oedema, fulness of the upper eyelid; kawammansi, after pains of labour; kawango, severe intractable headache; kawumpuli, bubonic plague, any violent disease; kawere, scabies; kawankumi, intestinal worms; kasamanya, bloodlessness of the lips, caused by white eruptions, red lips after syphilis; kawulukutu, swelling in the ear, generally fatal; kamanya, cramp; kawaali, small-pox; kantoolooze, giddiness, vertigo; kakiki, dyspepsia, indigestion; kakenge, collic pains; kanya, hernia; kabatala, ulcer of the vulvae; kabengo, enlarged spleen;

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- 1) "Those who deviate from the normal activities in the culture such as refusing to offer sacrifice to ancestors, disobeying cultural ethics, doing injustice to others, refusing to cooperate with others for the general good or ignoring one's responsibilities to himself and others must pay the price individually. The spirits do not discriminate in their attacks".(Ndeti 1976:18).

kaboola, ulcers in the mouth; kabootongo, syphilis, tertiary syphilis; kammunguluze, giddiness; kyeggula, hollow cough; ssenyiga, cold in the head; katuuka, swollen testicles, orchitis; kabongeera, sleeping sickness; kibongoya, sleeping sickness, coma; wamala, itching conjunctivitis probably trachoma; kikerere, scaly dermatitis; kirumi, human skin disease, disease of fig trees; kizimugulu, swelling of the legs, sleeping sickness; kiziri, prolapsed piles, prolapse of rectum; lubyamira, pneumonia, very bad influenza; lubeerebeere, mastitis; lukonvuba, incurable disease, wasting illness; luluummabintu, gonorrhoea; lukuumawaka, chronic illness, usually gonorrhoea; jjulume, sudden fits of temper, madness; ndezi, all forms of spontaneous bleeding, epistaxis; mmongoota, sleeping sickness; lwakipumpulu, cattle tripanosomiasis.

4.c ANIMALS

The animal world in the personal class is only very poorly represented in comparison to the third class where the full force of it is described in detail.

Apart from a few terms referring to unidentified animals which make their appearance only sporadically and are to be considered physically dangerous, the centre of attention is directed to a group of animals which create the impression of being a remnant of the totemistic features in Kiganda society.¹ As a result they have ascended to the level of this personal class.

All clans were considered to be equally important, based on the fact that all Baganda were potential candidates for the throne in as far as they all could offer their girls as wives for the king. In this connection it is important to note the absence of a specific royal clan, since the offspring of the Kabaka belonged to the maternal clans, notwithstanding the universal patrilineal system in Kiganda society.

nnamuukukulu, monster; ttimba, python; bbowa, jackall;
goonya, crocodile; kabogolole, monster; lukumbi, monstrous
wild beast; lubwa, animal like jackal; nnawoluvu, chameleon;
nnamulimi, ant bear; nnamunnungu, porcupine; nnamukasa,
monkey grivet; ssewagaba, black mangabey monkey;
ssungulubeebe, type of lizzard; nnabankokola, preying mantis;

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- 1) "The Baganda are divisible into two broad groups, the indigenous and the immigrants.....There are to-day about fourty main clans, which are largely exogamous, universally totemic and patrilineal".
(Kiwanuka 1971:31).

nnagawe, patas monkey; jjule, washing bear; kunguvvu, whyday fish; nnandere, type of tylapia; kassulubana, elephant-snout fish; mbegedde, fish with long tubular snout; mukene, silvery fish; muguya, young lung fish;

The enumeration of a number of small and obnoxious insects and termites, which usually appear in great numbers, seems to justify their position in the first class on account of the immanent danger to property and livelihood in combination with their quantity, just as quantity itself is expressed in this category:

nnamunswa, termite; nnabe, small red ant said to eat termites; nnamunkanga, dragon-fly; nnabangogoma, green grasshopper; nnabubi, spider; nnamugoya, blind worm; nnabeefunya, type of small catterpillar; munyama, kind of ant; munyeera, minute kind of ant; kawawa, gadfly; kaasa, travelling black soldier ant; kabalankoma, variety of wasp; kadoma, small wild bee; lusejjera, swarm of young locusts; nsingisira, small insect in millet; ssemukuto, insect like cricket which emits burning secretion; muyizzitasubwa, mason wasp; ssekirembe, large ant which makes its home in firewood; kyeberoka, parasite; ssekesa, kind of centipede; ssungulubeebe, type of lizzard, small and pale in colour; kasennyanku, insect which makes cocoon like a tiny bundle of firewood and lives inside it; ssiga, centipede; wakka, large black ant with strong unpleasant smell and poisonous bite; kidoma, a great quantity, mpotwe, something enormous; ssinziggu, huge pile; nnamunkukkumbu, crowd.

The same idea of quantity is extended to the category of

birds in this class, represented in a small kind of harmless species found in large numbers:

kisosolye, bulbul; kaamukunkulu, small dove of dark grey colour; bbuka-mugogo, brown bird hardly as large as a thrush; magga, black-shouldered kite; nnakinsige, brown grass-finch; munyuli, blue starling; sseddindi, small black cormorant; nnamwebe, sparrow; nnamunnoona, white shouldered crow; kijjoga, common brown bird about the size of a weaver; wonzi, long crested hawk eagle; ssemirindi, small black cormorant; ssekanyolya, grey heron; ssekoko, turkey; nnaali, crested crane; mukanganka, peahen.

4.d PLANTS

Since the full range of trees and plants is grouped together in class 2, the number of them classified here limits itself to small vegetation used as vegetables, to plants causing some sort of discomfort or to herbs used as a cure against maladies.

Here again it is the language itself which allocates these specimen to the first class, detectable only through the system of concords since the class prefix is absent.

The reason for their presense in this class is presumably on account of their specific function with respect to the human world.

nnabambula, plant causing blisters; kibugga, nettle; kasalabakesi, climbing plant giving red dye; kattabuteme, tenacious couchgrass; kawule, creeper with short curved thorns; kanywa-musenke, shrub whose leaves taste of oxalic acid; ganda, plant whose juice is obnoxious to termites; kafumita-bagenge, type of prickly creeping plant; ddodo, kind of spinach; mmulukulu, plant used for healing sores; nnakitaddabusa, kind of stinging nettle; nnakati, type of spinach; nnakasuga, type of plant used as vegetable; sseziwundu, herb used to heal sores; sserinyabi, type of cactus plant; ssere, weed whose seed stick to clothing; nnasamba, type of stinging plant.

4.e FEATURES OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

The next members of the first class is a group of nouns expressing abstract ideas which have an immediate bearing on important events of daily life, in contrast to the abstracta allocated to other classes.

The typical feature of an abstractum is that it has an aptitude to be in many objects at the same time. It is an 'universale in praedicando'.

It is interesting to observe that the greater part of the Luganda abstracta is to be found in the li-ma class, where it is expressed as a plural. The western way of thinking has an inclination towards abstract principles, possible due to Platonic influence in our world of thinking.¹

As will be indicated later, the Baganda know many names for the individual species and varieties of plantains. Each of these names may be considered as an abstract concept in the same way as the word plantain itself. Yet a language is much richer in concepts than a language which does not contain all these differentiations. This phenomenon is observed in many instances like e.g.

"The accuracy with which the people of Gabon identify the slightest differences between species of the same genus".

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- 1) Only in the mind things exist in a truly universal way whilst in reality outside the mind they are specified in an individual manner. It seems that "we are too familiar with the problem of dealing with classes of abstraction; the more one deals with them, the more tortured the defining attributes seem and the less faith one has in concept boundaries". (Havighurst 1979:53).

(Tessman 1913:192). Also the Berber people have hundreds of different names for camel and the Eskimo's a considerable amount of terms for snow and seal.

ggiri, malice; kalumanywere, difficulty; kaloddo, heaviness; kaloboli, extravagance; kafulu, term of abuse; kipeccu, prodigy; sano, calamity resulting in quarrels; nnalugumbya, death; nnakinku, marvel of cleverness; nnabuguma, great heat; mutemampola, hunger; ngoby, deceit; ttembo, folly; nnasisi, affluence; nnawalyanga, death; nnamunigina, solitude; nnamukisa, good luck; ssebitalo, phenomenon; nnamuyanga, spontaneous fire; kyefuula, nuisance; kasiibulo, farewell; kalindabazaana, twilight; kazimeera, dark place; masane, a wonder; nnakibengeyi, grass fire.

4.f FEATURES OF NATURE

To a community mainly concerned with agriculture, the influence of wind and water as manifestations of nature are of the utmost importance. The success or failure of the crops is for a large extent dependent on these elements and consequently the prospects of Kiganda society as well.

It seems obvious that climate is also a basis for standards of living in many other aspects, such as shelter, health, hygiene etc.¹

The greater part of names regarding these features are to be found in the agricultural class 2. Yet a few have ascended to the first class, where they mainly express excessive quantities.

ttogo, heavy rains; muyanja, wind from the south of lake Victoria; mukoka, flood water; kyatinda, subterranean watercourse; ddumbi, lesser rains of the season; kibuyaga, storm; kiyira, Nile where waterfalls are; ssezibwa, large river in Kyaggwe; kisaawa, very powerful wind on lake Victoria; katamyaboosi, broiling heat of the period 2.30 to 3 p.m.

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- 1) In the interlacustrine region of East Africa there are four well marked seasons. (cf. Kendrew 1961:50-57: a) the south-eastern monsoon, b) the northerly dry current which travels across Egypt and the Sudan, c) a more moist north-easterly current and d) a westerly current which varies in direction between the south-west and the north-west. (cf. Lind 1956:13-16).

4.g FEATURES OF ARTIFACT AND HABITAT

The remainder of the nouns of class 1 concerns inanimate objects which are used in every-day life.¹

In spite of the fact that there is no necessary connection between the objects specified, there is at least an empirical connection between them, even if in western outlook it not always has a foundation in reason.

The fact that the nouns have risen into the personal class may have depended on unconscious moments of choice or unspoken assumptions as to the nature and the value of things:

kayeya, fine mesh; kanyala, soothy cobwebs; kasodde, potato

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- 1) "Culture is concerned primarily with the way people act. The actions, then, of manufacture, use and nature of material objects constitute the data of material culture. In relation to culture, artifacts and materials are to be classed in the same category as the substances, such as minerals, flora and fauna, which compose the environment in which people live. Artifacts themselves are not cultural data, although to be sure, they are often the concrete manifestations of human actions and cultural processes".
(Ford 1937:226).

"Man uses nature to make artifacts, feed himself and so on, nature is exploited by man through his understanding of it, but the more complex his cultural dimension becomes, the more he is able to duplicate nature at his own will and by his own activities. At the simpler levels of complexity in terms of culture, man had to make do with what was provided by nature, as complexity advanced, however, man developed the ability to synthesize nature, adjust his natural surroundings or alter them profoundly".
(Gifford 1978:76).

cut into thin slices and sun-dried; ggombya, bracelet made by plaiting thin split leaves; kasiirira, small hut; kyewangula, recluse; bbugwe, strong pallisade; wankaaki, main gate; wansanso, main gate at the back; nnakasatwe, third cloth of bark-cloth tree; nnakabirrye, second stripping of bark-cloth; ssezzizi, top roll of rees on fence; nnakabanda, kind of fence laced together with bark; kwete, beer made from maize; kyaki, coarse mat from palm leave; kimote, rich, red bark-cloth of Sango bay area; kyerindwa, thing of which one takes special care; kyassanga, cracks and fissures as in tertiary jaws; kyekwasa, something provisional; kitembejja, clot; kirenge, bamboo wistle; kirema, variety of pearl; kaggogo, childrens game; kasiikolindo, dung of birds; ggogolimbo, rubbish heap; kaamudiba, scraping of flesh from hide; kalasano, pother; sserumbete, european drum; mwasanjala, stony road; nnamuziga, ring.

The luxurious differentiation in trees and shrubs as described in this class is often regarded as a reason why the Baganda in past times turned to agriculture rather than to animal husbandry. In other words, why they became primarily agriculturalists and only pastoralists on a small scale.¹ History tell us that man has always been in a state of war with nature, in a struggle for survival. The intention has always been to create a way of life by using the existing possibilities and adapting them to personal interests.² From the enumeration of trees in this class it is very obvious that the Baganda are acutely aware of the many different qualities of trees and shrubs, and that they have a way of classifying them which enables them to identify and to communicate about them. The identification, it appears, is also based on the function which the specimen has for them and the practical orientation it entails, although in general these features are commonly implicit and unstated.

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- 1) "Luxurious forest vegetation rendered Buganda unsuitable for cattle grazing.....they are primarily agriculturalists and remotely pastoralists.....the absence of a cattle complex in religious and cultural beliefs confirms this".(cf.Kiwanuka 1972:26).
 - 2) "The setting also inhibits or facilitates behaviour (or acts as a catalyst for behaviour it might be added) through its symbolic function. By means of certain symbols it suggests behaviour appropriate to particular settings and through this it is related to individual and group identity".
(Rapoport, McBride and Clancy, Duncan)(Rapoport 1976:4).

The attention in this highly valuated class concentrates on words whose singular prefix is *mu* or *mw* not describing human beings. The plural prefix is *mi*.

The class contains the names of living things, which for agriculturalists, like the Baganda, amounts first of all to an accurate enumeration of all sorts of trees and herbs, with which they are acquainted and which are held in high esteem.³

The reason for this valuation finds its roots in the function the various specimen have in the community or in the products they yield.

The individual characteristics are indicated and are part of the outside world, as it were permeated with subjectivity.

The content of the class is further specified in wider or narrower groups the limits of which may be determined from a variety of points of view.

Although there may be individual differences in the experience of the Baganda, a number of common elements are recognized and the members of the various groups are considered as related or even as the same, provided that they all have a sufficient number of characteristic features in common.

The language indicates as it were this categorizing activity of the human mind.

The assumption that the way of thinking in a particular culture contains a large "linguistic element of a strict-

3) In general the content of this class may be described as: "Das Belebtes aber nicht persönliches". (Meinhof 1906:6).

ly patterned nature" (cf. Whorf 1964:129) seems justified, affirming the "Tyrannical hold that linguistic form has upon our orientation in the world". (Sapir 1964:128).

The tendency in this class is to indicate objects in as far as they are useful particularly with respect to food and useful trees. Since the elements are closely connected to place it is not surprising that animals and fish are very poorly represented, because they are not so sharply localized.

The fact that most Baganda are well aware of and have learned with ease to use an extensive vocabulary of plant terms explains the prominent place these terminologies take in daily conversation. The members of a plant category can even be identified at any stage of their growth. The reason why this area of folk-taxonomy subdivides and specifies such a great number of functions and other characteristics, must be seen in connection with the place these items occupy in the social context of the Baganda.

The more information about an object may be available, the greater may be its effect on social behaviour.⁴

One could maintain that the function as expressed by the various members of this class lies in the contribution it makes to the functioning of the whole system.

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- 4) "The terms never have any intrinsic significance. Their meaning is one of 'position' - a function of the history and cultural context on the one hand and of the structural system in which they are called upon to appear on the other. The vocabulary already shows this selectiveness". (Levi-Strauss 1972:55).

5.1 FUNCTIONAL ASPECTS OF TREES

o mwasa (*Tylostemon ugandensis*)

Forest tree growing up to 90 feet high. Its fruit is purple brown and about 1 inch long, yielding a dark red purple juice. The wood is very durable and dug-out canoes on Lake Nnabugabo are made from this species.¹

o muyovu (*Entandro cylindricum*)

Largest species of deciduous tree in Uganda, growing up to 180 feet or more. Its trade name is Sapele, yielding one of the hardest of mahoganies. The wood is particularly good for panelling, flooring and cabinet making. It is excellent timber for joinery especially for railway coach-work.

o muyanja (*Symphonia gaborensis macrantha*)

Forest tree growing up to a 100 feet. The wood is yellow-brown to brownish red, rather coarse grained, fairly hard, easily worked and taking nails well. It is rather liable to insect attacks and its resinous sap is used for fixing tools for shafts.

o muwanika (*Dichrostachys glomerata*)

Acacia like tree, usually 10 to 15 feet high. Its hard wood is very dark brown to almost black, close grained and very tough. It is used for making tool handles.

1) The botanical namegiving is obtained from Dr.W.J. Eggeling's book 'The indigenous Trees of the Uganda Protectorate' revised and enlarged by Ivan R.Dale.

o muwafu (*Canarium schweinfurthii*)

Incense tree with pale pink wood and very valuable as structural timber. It is liable to attacks by borers and used for making keels of beer-canoes.

o muwaawa (*Acacia sieberiana*)

Savannah tree growing up to 50 feet approximately. The wood is yellow, soft, coarse, easy to work but subjected to discoloration, mould and attack by borers. It yields good quality gum.²

o muvuule (*Chlorophora excelsa*)

Deciduous hard wood tree which frequently attains 160 feet. It is a forest tree with a straight cylindrical bole about 50 to 80 feet long. The wood is very durable, practically termite proof and resistant to water and fungoid diseases. It can be used profitably for all purposes for which teak has hitherto been almost exclusively employed.

o mutuba (*Ficus natalensis*, Hochst)

Bark-cloth tree, growing up to 40 feet. Frequently with aerial roots hanging from the base of the major limbs.

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- 2) As in many of the Bantu languages and dialects, the name of a tree differs only in the prefixes. The number of prefixes is large: m-, ma-, mui-, mi-, mwi-, mu-, mw-, omu-, oru-, mo-, omo-, gumu-, komo-, kumu-, akumi-, lu-, ru-, li-, lw-, la-, gu-, ga-, gw-, ka-, ki-, ky-, eki-, kimu-, kini-, kina-, ech-, e-, i-, en-, n-, na-, bu-, bi-, bw-, ebw-, obw-, o-, gi-, shi-, chi-, shiki-, si-, sh-, chich-, che-, wa-, nya-, nyan-, nyam-. (Eggeling 1951:466). These prefixes are distributed over all the classes in which trees are mentioned.

o muttampindi (*Albizzia coriacea*)

Tree used for fumigating. Its bark is also chewed or decocted as a cough medicine.

o mutoogo (*Dalbergia milanoxydon*)

Ebony tree from which walking sticks are made.

o muteete (*Allophylus subcoriaceus*)

Tree from which knife handles are made.

o musizi (*Maesopsis eminii*)

Timber tree with useful light, hard wood, often used in place of Podo.

o musaali (*Mimusops ugandensis*. *Garcinia buchanii*)

Forest tree up to a 130 feet. It has a thick evergreen crown casting dense shade. Its fruit is orange yellow and about 1 inch in diameter. The wood is brown or pinkish, hard, difficult to saw, but planing and turning well and taking a good polish.

o munyenge (*Xanthoxylon*)

Tree with greyish brown wood.

o munyamassi (*Apodytes dimidiata*)

Evergreen forest tree up to 70 feet and growing in Buddu. The wood is very hard, perishable, easy to saw and plane but liable to borer attack.

o munyama (*Khaya anthotheca*)

Tree with light brown wood.

o munaazi (*Parinari excelsa*)

Evergreen forest tree growing up to a 150 feet. The wood is hard, resistant to damp and durable in ground.

o mulungisanvu (*Syzygium guineense*. syn *Eugenia guineensis*)

Tree with pale heavy durable wood.

o mululu (*Chrysophyllum albidum*)

Forest tree up to a 120 feet. The wood is brownish white easy to saw and plane and nailing well. It takes a fine polish.

o mululuuza (*Vernonia amygdalina*)

Shrub also called iron weed, giving incense. Its leaves are pulped in water producing medicine to cure colic pains. Its branchlets are resistant to termites and are useful as stakes for lining out plantations.

o mulirira (*Harungana madagascariensis*)

Shrub or tree up to 40 feet with small orange or brownish fruit. Its wood is pinkish-yellow and oozes reddish sap. The wood is light in weight and the tree is reputed to improve soil. It grows on banks of rivers in sandy places.

o mulindi (*Herminiera elaphroxylon*)

Ambatch tree. It grows up to 20 feet, in water or on the lake margin or in swamps. It has very light wood used for floats and spears in fishing.

o mukuzannume (*Warburgia ugandensis*)

Tree with greyish wood.

o mukusu (*Uapaca guineensis*)

Ssesse forest tree up to 60 feet. The wood is pale red with a silvery grain. It is durable easy to work and suitable for carpentry. It is said to be good firewood and especially makes good charcoal.

o mukooole (*Dombeya mukole*)

Tree with light wood, smooth grained.

o mukooke (*Pterygota* Sp.Nov)

The witch tree of Mubende hill, with white bright yellow sap-wood.

o mukongoliko (*Accacia campylacantha*)

African cutch, fast growing, flat topped, giving good gum.

o mukebu (*Cordia Abyssinica*)

Tree with brown wood, taking polish well and very suitable for cabinet work.

o mukapa (*Clitandra orientalis*)

Kind of rubber tree.

o mukanaga (*Hymenocardia acida*)

Busoga tree with very hard wood suitable for making pestles and mallets for beating out bark-cloth.

o muduudu (*Thylachium africanum*)

Tree of which the leaves are used to make poison for an ordeal.

o mugavu (*Albizzia coriaria*)

Tree with very dark, hard wood, deciduous and growing up to 60 feet in savannah and 130 feet in the forest. Fragrance is imparted to bark-cloth when fumigated with the smoke produced by the wood of this tree.

o museenene (*Podocarpus gracilior*)

Evergreen forest tree growing up to 100 feet. The trade name is Podo or East African yellow wood. It yields soft and straight grained wood, easy to work and it is used for furniture and joinery.

o musasa (*Sapium ellipticum*)

Tree, usually growing 40 to 50 feet high. It is somewhat reminiscent of birch in habit. The wood is hard, used for anvils on which bark-cloth is beaten but it is not durable when placed in the ground.

o muyinya (*Accacia Xiphocarpa*)

Gregarious, flat-topped tree to 50 ft. Crown obconical spreading, the bole dividing into a number of more or less equalsized limbs which rise steeply to the same height. The tree provides very tough brown wood for general purposes.

o mutwetwe

Any tree from which knife handles are made

o mutwalabafu (*Ekebergia senegalensis*)

Tree to 90 ft in savanna and on the edge of forest. The crown is rounded and branches are pendulous. The tree is used for carrying dead bodies.

o musuga (*Steganthus welwitschii*)

Forest tree up to 90 ft. Crown small. Bark pale grey to nearly white. Its trade name is Elgon Olive and it is used for cabinet making and heavy furniture. The wood is very strong moderately durable, resistant to termites, not easy to saw and plane owing to its hardness. It takes nails very well when green but resists them when dry. Polishes well and stains successfully.

o mumuli (*Holoptelea grandis*)

Light-demanding deciduous forest tree up to 120 ft. Wood white, moderately hard, planing and nailing well, sawing easily, difficult to split, liable to termite attack and suitable for indoor carpentry.

o mulundulundu (*Antiaris toxicaria*)

Deciduous tree up to 150 ft. The bark yields a strong white cloth, but is regarded in Buganda as inferior to true barkcloth.

o mulundu (*Celtis brownii*)

Evergreen understory tree to 70 ft. Bark smooth, grey-green to olive brown. Tree from which shields are made.

o mukuzannyana (*Klainedoxa gabonensis*)

Large evergreen forest tree to 150 ft with a very thick crown which is often umbrella-shaped in old trees. Very durable wood but too hard for general use.

o mukusakusa (*Strychnos mitis*)

Tree whose bark is used as a rope. The wood is hard and difficult to work.

Differentiation, if not by function, also happens through a verbal description of significant attributes of the various trees and shrubs.

It thus becomes relatively easy to indicate precisely what makes the one different from the other, by the difference in appearance or the kind of fruit it produces. So the anthropologist will be able to establish perceptual attributes relevant to categorization even if these cues are only probabilistic. (cf. Conklin 1955:342).³

o mwoloola, kind of accacia tree; o mweramannyo, thorny accacia tree; o mweganza (*Macaranga schweinfurthii*) tree common in swamps and swampy forest, its fruit is favourite with the grey parrot; o mwerango, type of thorny tree; o muzeyitunni, olive tree; o muyemberera (*Croton* .. *macrostaachys*) busoga tree; o muyembe, mango tree; o mutugunda (*Croton megalocarpus*) mulberry tree growing up to 40 ft; o mutonto, kind of fig tree, (*Desplatzia lutea*); o mutoke, (*Baphiopsis stuhlmanii*) forest tree in Buddo; o mutiini, fig tree; o muti, tree in general; o musunubali, fir and pine tree; o musunku, tall jungle growth; o mussa (*Kigelia moosa*) sausage tree; o museese

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- 3) "It is a fundamental premise of linguistic analysis that the phonemic system or the grammatical rules need not correspond to the analysis which the native speaker is usually capable of performing. Indeed the native speaker may emphatically reject the linguist's analysis. That analysis does not therefore cease to be the product of logico-empirical operations in which emic distinctions provide the basis for subsequent logical manipulation as well as for the ultimate tests of logic-empirical adequacy". (Harris 1972:572).

(*Rhus natalensis*) kind of accacia; o musaniko, (*Clausena Anisata*) tree; o mupeera, guave tree; o mupaapaali, pawpaw tree; o munyinya (*Accacia hebecladoides*) savanna tree; o mumwanyiwanyi, forest tree resembling coffee; o mulimaawa, lemon tree; o mukuti, kind of fig tree; o mukunyu (*Ficus gnaphalocarpa*) fig tree, its fruit is succulent and edible, much relished by green pigeons; o mukoma (*Grewia mollis*) shrub or tree growing in savanna; o mukinga, (*Accacia mildbraedii*) flat topped tree; o mukeeke (*Podocarpus conifera*) tree; o mukapa (*Clitandra orientalis*) kind of rubber tree; o mugunga (*Myrianthus arboreus*) deciduous understory tree, giant yellow mulberry tree; o mubengeya (*Annona chrysophylla*) wild custard apple tree; o mujjogo (*Carapa grandiflora*) tree; o mubajjangabo (*Erythrina excelsa*) tree; o mubajjandalabi, (*Rauwolfia vomitoria*) tree; o mubajjansayi (*Morinda lucida*) tree; o mubakampungu (*Chrysophyllum perpulchrum*) tall forest tree.

5.2 SMALL VEGETATION

It is obvious from the long enumeration of the different kinds of trees and shrubs, that these have been individualized in detail on account of the vital position they occupy for the agricultural Baganda.

The same may be said for a number of small vegetation . which is usually appreciated as food for man and animal or used for other purposes within the community.

Most of them seem to share the characteristic of being tree-like plants, derived from the fact that they have a trunk and real leaves. Other seem to be bush-like plants, in that they grow from the ground up in an undifferentiated mass of branches and leaves:

o mukwakula, thorny bush with heart shaped leaves, bearing small fruits; o muzimbandegeya (*Sesbania aculeata*), fibre plant used for making rope; o muzi, small root;
o muzabbibu, vine; o muyagi, plant which bears njagi fruit; o muwinnamuti, species of a shrub; o muwemba, sorghum millet used for making malt in brewing beer;
o mutunsi, bud, shoot; o mutundugo, kind of mushroom with short stalk; o mussukundu, kind of mushroom found near dried up tree stumps; o musogasoga, castor-oil plant;
o musekuzo, wooden pestle; o musanvu, small branch;
o mungu, kind of vegetable marrow; o mumwanyi, coffee plant; o mululuuza (*Veronia amygdalina*) shrub giving incence. Leaves pulped in water produces medicine to cure colic pains. Branchlets are resistant to termites and are useful for stakes for lining out plantations; o mulondo, climbing plant with leaves like bean plant, its roots are eaten; o mulemu (*Landolphia florida*) rubber vine:

o mulandira, root; o mulanda, trailing shoot; o mukobe, kind of creeper; o mugaya, small bush common in open grassland, whose roots are chewed raw; o muceere, rice plant; o muddo, grass, weeds; o mwambo, packet of plants offered to a heathen deity on the instruction of a sorcerer; o mupunga, rice plant; o mwennyango, nettle.

5.3 UTENSILS MADE OF WOOD

A large amount of utensils which are either made of wood or fibre and which are regarded as essentials for the organization of life bear the characteristic prefix of the class of trees and plants.

It goes without saying that a correspondence with the functional aspects of the first category of this class is apparent:

o musasi, string made from painted grass with mascot or charm attached; o mwoko, punt-pole; omuyingo, bar of cattle kraal; o muyimi, handle of hoe; o muwambiro, handle of shield; o mutayimbwa, crowbar; o mutalabanda, wooden clog; o muswaki, chewed twig for cleaning teeth; o musito, wooden skewer for storing meat; o musituliro, pole which is used as a frame for a house; o musisiirwa, extremely long kind of box or drum; o musekese, framework of a house; o musalaba, cross; o mulugwa, hollowed block of wood for making drum, drum-stick; o musaale, bow; o mulawo, large wooden cooking spoon; o mulongooti, mast, flagstaff; o mulabba, ridge pole of house; o mukwero, main post in house wall; o mukonda, handle; o mukumbero, door-post; o mukomba, rafter, roof principal; o mukomago, log on which bark-cloth is beaten out; o mukiikiro, crossbeam; o mukalabanda, wooden clog; o mufuko, quiver for arrows; o mufumbeeto, door-post; o mugaabe, long slender drum; o mugala, framework of reeds erected over termite hill; o mugolomozi, roller for launching canoe; o muziziko, log used as step of door or to delimit the carpet of grass; o mukaako, headdress worn by oracle; o mufulejje, gutter; o mugwabi, bangh-pipe; o mutego, trap, bow; o mutto, pillow,

cushion; o mweso, game played on wooden board with rows of hollows in it; o mugwanya, closet; o muggo, walking stick; o mugudo, battery of four drums; o mugama, haft of spear with ferrule used as walking stick; o muge, head-band used as part of war dress; o mumuli, torch made of reeds; o mugigi, layer of leaves of one on the other; o muguwa, rope; o mukaaba, kind of gourd in which beer is kept; o mujunga, tassel; o mukeeka, mat.

5.4 UTENSILS MADE OF IRON

Analogous to the above mentioned nouns a number of utensils are mentioned which used to be made from wood or plants, but which are nowadays made from iron:

o mwiko, plastering instrument, mason's trowel; o mwera, loose cents; o muzinga, cannon; o muya, smallish fishing pot; o muwunda, iron spike; o muvubo, pair of bellows; o mutambo, lock on riffle; o muswaddi, pipe; o musumaali, nail; o musukaano, carpenter's brace; o musinga, pig-iron; o musagga, bracelet; o musa, blade of knife; o mulumyo, tool for boring; o mulannamiro, foot of bed; o mukuutu, long knife; o mukuufu, chain ornament; o mukebe, tin can; o mubinnikiro, funnel; o mudaali, medal; o muddumu, gun-barrel; o mugonjo, long fishing line with hooks in interval; o mujugo, small bell used as ornament on neck or drums; o musaala, wage, pay; o musumeeno, saw.

5.a PERSONS

Names of human beings are rarely mentioned in this context. Only three names are situated here most probably in analogy with the overall impression of the class:

o mukomera, a most important person; o mukolodolli, a very tall person; o mukookootokwa, a giant.

5.b PARTS OF THE BODY

It should be constantly kept in mind that the enumeration as given by the language represents a folk-taxonomy. This must be understood as a grouping of entities in terms of the category labels given to them by the culture, rather than by the observer's common sense or scientific knowledge. (cf. Conclin 1962:13).

The common feature in this category is the correlation one experiences with regard to the tilling of the land. This correlation is probabilistically, rather than necessarily, associated with category membership.¹

The deciduous character of the many trees mentioned in this class may cause the same idea to be experienced in terms such as e.g. blood, which can be shed, or windpipe, from which the air flows regularly. Also a number of nouns representing a regular occurring of sound are mentioned which tends to indicate the iteration of an event as the perceptual criterion of this category.

o mutwe, head; o mukono, arm, hand; o mwoyo, spirit; o mwala, muscle; o muziro, bone at the base of the vertebral column;

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- 1) "The intention is to show the part-whole relationship. These relationships are used in the inductive study of semantic domains which is known as componential analysis. The object of componential analysis is to understand how a particular area of meaning (semantic domain) is divided into parts and how these parts are related to one another. The human body is a continuous unit, nevertheless it is essential for some purposes, to think of it as divided into parts... Thus each culture has its own way of categorizing the parts of the body and its own plans for appropriate behaviour in connection with each category". (Bock 1969:171).

o muzimu, spirit of the dead; o muziisa, back tendon;
o muvumbo, lock of hair; o muttunte, soft hair; o mutima,
heart; o mutaafu, wrinkle of forehead; o musuuwa, artery;
o musino, clitoris; o musaayi, blood; o musale, tribal
mark; o munwa, lip; o mumiro, windpipe; o mulemberembe,
leg, tibia; o mulambo, corpse; o mukundi, projecting
navel; o mubiri, body; o mufumbi, back muscle; o mugongo,
back of body; o mutulumbi, corpse; o mugogo, collar;
o mwambe, regrowing finger or toe-nail.

5.c SOUNDS AND AILMENTS

In the periphery a number of sounds, some ailments and the means to cure them have been included.

o mulanga, outcry; o muzira, shout in rejoicing; o muwuulo, hollow sound; o mwanguka, loudness of voice; o mwasi, a sneeze; o musinde, tramp of feet; o mukka, breath; o mugerengejjo, obscure speech; o mwanjo, tune on native harp; o mubala, drum beat with a particular rythm typifying a particular clan; o mujaguzo, beating of royal drums in rejoicing or in sorrow when one of the members of the royal family dies.

o mukago, generalized oedema; o mulego, lower abdominal swelling; o muteezi, facial neuralgia; o munyobobo, dysentery; o muwempe, confluent small-pox; o mubazi, ecthyma, pustular rash.

o mukokota, medicine thought to prevent succes of an ennemy and with hunters to attract animals into their nets or traps; o mujaaja, herb used as an medicine; o mugoosoola, medicine used for washing children when ill; o mukyula, powder made from dried leaves of tree used in divination.

5.d QUANTITY

A number of terms expressing great quantity or mass are situated in this class. Also here the experience may be related to the impression the foliage of trees and shrubs make on the imagination.

This idea is transferred to abstractions expressing a quantity or a mass. The correlation between the individual nouns seems obvious and justifies the selection into this category.

o muku, gigantic thing; o muluntu, great mass; o munyyeenye, crowd; o mubuulo, mass, anything in large quantities; o mugabo, share; o muganda, bundle; o mugereko, portion; o mugugu, load; o muyeeye, swarm; o mutwalo, load; o mutumba, load of cloth for porter to carry; o mutiriba, very great length; o mutiiti, abundance; o muteeteema, large expanse; o muteeko, heap put together; o mwero, abundance; o mwega, abundance.

5.e ABSTRACTA

Just as in Duala and Swahili (cf. Meinhof 1903:7) a number of abstracta have developed from the periphery in this class, in an effort to transcend the immediate sphere of reality in order to arrive at more universal terms. The enlisted nouns may be regarded as "mass nouns denoting homogeneous continua without implied boundaries". (cf. Whorf 1941:75).

Since outward marks are totally absent the category has a tendency to centre around an idea, to become dependent on a principle in the meaning of its members, whatever principle that may be.¹

Abstract groupings such as enumerated here have no intrinsic meaning, the meaning they have is a social one. This social meaning as a form of communication confers social identity to others and reinforces the identity of the group concerned.

o mukutto, repletion; o mukisa, blessing; o muku, time;
o mukonga, fixed expression; o mukunduggu, toughness;
o muliraano, neighbourhood; o mulimu, work; o mulerembe, dispute;
o mulembe, epoch; o mulangaasira, lanky shape;
o mulaka, force; o mulaala, calm; o mukwano, friendship;
o mundagaala, space; o mulundi, time; o mululu, greediness;
o muloolo, have a drowsy look; o mulo, drowsiness;

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- 1) "De menigvuldigheid van de mogelijke relaties kan aanleiding geven tot het ontstaan van wat men terecht een 'symboolveld' zou kunnen noemen. Dergelijk veld wordt afgemeten door de uitgebreidheid van de associaties die met het beeld kunnen verbonden worden...". (van Haecht 1947:106).

o musoso, point of argument; o musono, fashion; o musomo,
 course of reading; o musingo, pledge; o musingi, foundation;
 o musikirano, hereditary succession; o musera, fullness;
 o musango, fault; o munnaganwa, scarcity; o mugogolo, un-
 tidiness; o mugaso, use, profit; o mugoonyo, spite;
 o mutinti, cold; o mutindo, likeness; o muteero, trouble;
 o muteego, witchcraft; o muteega, vigour; o mutunbo,
 voracity; o muwaatwa, space; o muvuyo, error; o muwabo,
 leave; o muwoggo, passion; o muwatwa, defile; o muwogo,
 state of being half open; o muwulukwa, hollow; o muwuwo,
 inflation; o mukago, blood brotherhood; o musingira,
 investigation; o muyinooyino, illusion; o muze, custom;
 o muzinzi, weightiness; o mwanya, space; o mwegoyego,
 limit; o mufundeero, repletion; o muga, smell; o muganyulo,
 service; o muzizo, action which is taboo or unlawful;
 o munaana, eight; o musanvu, seven; o muwendo, a number;
 o mwenda, nine.

5.f LAND, WATER, WINDS

The terms mentioned in category 4.f of the first class mainly stress the excessive quantity and consequently the harmful character of the events. Here they are enumerated in as far as they have an effect on cultivation or in as far as they are concerned with the very land itself.

o mutendera, stretch of land; o mutala, newly acquired land, land between two streams or swamps used as a measure of distance; o musubi, grassy plain, o musiri, cultivated plot; o museetwa, plain; o mugomo, peninsula; o muluka, district; o mukutu, strait, canal; o mwogo, channel; o mwala, mid-stream; o mugga, river; o musomoko, passage of river; o muvo, creek; o mufubo, pond; o munaabo, water in which one has washed; o muggundu, north wind; o musulo, dew; o muyaga, storm; o muzira, hail; o mutunda, rain of mid august, followed by a clearing up for several days; o mutunga, flood; o mwezi, moon; o mukalwe, clear interval of a day during the rainy season; o mujjumbi, torrent; o mujjuzi, flood; o museenene, season from Nov.-Dec.; o musana, daylight.

5.g ANIMALS

Animals are mentioned in all the classes of the system although they mainly belong to class 3. It is the human mind which classifies some animals in another context. The relation with regard to the characteristic feature of the class in which they are allocated, is experienced in as far as they are associated with trees and cultivated plots.

o mugano, swarming of termites; o munta, common lizard;
o mwene, edible cane rat; o muyaayu, wild cat; o muwakata, faggot;
o mussu, edible cae rat; o musota, snake;
o musontwa, weevil; o musenene, giant swamp rat; o musege, wild dog;
o museera, fully grown chicken; o mujolo, small bird;
o mujjongezi, coly bird.

5.h REST-GROUP

The rest-group contains a number of typical general words.

o muko, fold, layer; o mugo, edge; o muwambira, trail made by animal; o muzindo, forey; o mukalo, dried meat; o muzigo, butter oil; o mugoyo, mash of potatoes and beans; o muwambo, packet of plants offered to deity; o mutuwa, stone curlew; o mutembo, twine for carrying waterpots or milkpots; o mutanda, strip of cloth; o mugini, rest-house; o mugina, chine; o musaku, string; o mupira, rubber; o munyale, sooth and cobwebs on ceiling; o munninyi, opening left in wall of cattle shed; o munaabo, water remaining on fingers after washing; o mukyula, powder made from dried leaves; o mwaliro, shrine in heathen temple; o mwalo, landing place, ferry.

5.1 PLURALS

Some nouns in this class can be used in the plural only, probably on account of the idea of continuity they evoke or on account of the part of a complexity they represent.

e mirembe, duration of a king's reign; e misuuna, reign of king Ssuuna; e mikaabya, early reign of Mutesa; e micwa, epoch of the Chwa kings; e mitawaana, business affairs; e misana, daylight; e mikoma, caning; e minyira, mucus of nose; e minzaani, scales for weighing; e mirannamiro, foot of bed; e mirerembe, fuss; e miryango, front of the house; e mitwetwe, head of bed; e mizi, dung.

The distinguishing feature in this class, apart from its general morphological criterion, is concerned with a plurality as experienced in a number of animate objects. The nouns classified here have as prefix en or em in the singular and en, em, ezi, ez in the plural. Mostly names of animals, fruits or seeds, to which a plurality is attributed are signified. This idea of plurality and consequently the less detailed and less individualized character of the class is supported by the fact there is no observable grammatical distinction between the singular and the plural. The enumerated objects appear to be of a lower grade of valuation than in the foregoing classes where valuation in most cases is expressed by a detailed description of the function and consequently of the meaning it has in this society.¹

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- 1) Function and meaning are concepts which are closely related. "There is in fact no quality of meaning; its essence lies in the realm of logic, where one does not deal with qualities, but only with relations.... meaning is not a quality but a function of a term. A function is a pattern viewed with reference to one special term round which it centers: this pattern emerges when we look at the given term in its total relation to the other terms about it". (Langer 1942: 55). As such functional analysis must deal with issues of meaning and with the human beings who generate this meaning and are not to be considered as an instrumental reality only. "For Radcliffe-Brown meaning was a 'sort of social physiology' (1964:230). His main emphasis when discussing ideas was on their role in generating those social sentiments upon which the social

The relation singular-plural, usually expressed through the system of concords, does not seem to be a very stable one. The class creates the impression of being in a state of transition.

The idea of plurality extends to categories of fruits and seeds, in which it must be noted that several individual entities like fruits or seeds in the same location are less dispersed than several entities in different locations or at different times. Thus the relation singular-plural must be regarded in terms of collocation and dispersion in which the latter signifies the plural and the former the singular.

What is meant is not so much the individual specimen of the species but rather an abstract concept, a type of which the speaker has a certain image in his mind, evoked by the influence it has on his personal existence.²

In every society people have constructed a way of classi-

structure depended". (ibid: 264). "Few anthropologists would now accept the thesis that categories of collective thought are causally generated by social life (Durkheim and Mauss 1963). On the other hand it is of vital importance to appreciate the all-pervasiveness of the social in primitive thought. Such categories are replete with meanings from many dimensions: seemingly innocent taxonomies carry a 'heavy social load' (Douglas 1973:11). Therefore one of the greatest dangers which semantic anthropology must avoid is an over-reaction to that functionalist reduction of meaning by completely severing meaning from its social context. One must escape the functional framework without forgetting the social location of meaning". (Crick 1976:70).

- 2) Meinhof (1906:16) calls this: "Zusammenfassende Bedeutung".

fying living forms in a manner about which an agreement has been reached. In this way classification is felt and shared by most members of the society and as such they are able to communicate about these living things and to identify them according to the importance they have for the social life.

In the case of animals this experience goes no further than the purpose which is served, or the fact that many animals have to be approached with care.

Another aspect why in this class most of the individuality is not expressed in the noun itself may be explained by the fact that in a totemistically orientated world usually much of a specific meaning is lost.³

This may be so because for individuality only those features are relevant which are typical for the species and found to be present in all the members of the clan. For 'primitive' man the distinction between the animal world and the world of human beings used to be non-existent. (cf. de Josselin de Jong 1913:75).

Hence the idea of plurality or more precisely of animate objects which mostly appear as collectiva.

It is obvious that not all cases can be directly explained. Once the category has been established, semantically based and delimited by a prefix, the grammatical machinery as-

3) The clan remains the dominating factor and the individuality disappears. "Le groupement social....est la véritable unité, don't l'individu est un simple élément....L'individu humain existe....en vertu de sa participation à l'essence de son groupe". (Brühl 1927:96).

signs most of the nouns to this particular role. Also nouns apparently different in semantic content are grouped together in this class and as such the internal consistency seems not to be very solid. The lexicon has been extended in the course of time, also including words from the languages of foreigners. The most important sources of such words have been Arabic and English. (cf. Rauch and Scott 1967).

It appears from the above that the linguistic distinction between nouns expressing individual specimen of the sort and nouns expressing animate objects as collectiva, is utilized as a reinforcement of the taxonomic distinction between living things like animals and living things like plants, as described in class 2.

Therefor it seemed reasonable to look for a criterion distinguishing animals from plants, on a level of linguistic structure higher than the morphological level existing between the two classes. Such a distinction, implicit in the linguistic difference, is based on a perceptual criterion and as such necessarily one of degree.

Apparently proximity and resemblance play an important part.⁴

Proximity for discovering objects which belong functionally to the system and as such show a greater elaboration in categories of immediate concern.

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- 4) "Nothing can be understood except in relation to everything else, to the complete collectivity and not simply to particular events. There is no social phenomenon which is not an integral part of the social whole". (Levi-Strauss 1950:139).

Resemblance, which does not require membership in the strict sense in as far as it is based on a sharing of one or more common characteristics such as e.g. all being dangerous or all having approximately the same size. Apparently a global impression in the most essential feature of the class. Animals are not regarded individually but only in as far as they have a function for society in terms of satisfying a need or carrying a message.⁵

The semantic content may also be established on the perceptual level as in the case of diseases which leave a mark on the body, or on the conceptual level in as far as the function or construction is included. (cf. Simpson 1961).

Meinhof explains the general character of this class by classifying the prefix *n* as an unchangeable verbal demonstrative, meaning 'it is'. (Meinhof 1906:14). By adding a qualifying adjective, the naming of the animals then took place under the influence of one or other characteristic feature.

It may be interesting to observe that in Kiganda society social regulation regarding the nature of human beings versus domesticated animals in the sense of religious

5) In the same sense as Harris explains basic categories of religion, it equally extends to these categories in as far as "Men collectively invent the basic categories....in order to explain the unseen but felt force of the collective consciousness. Several other fundamental ideas....are also said to owe their origin to a similar sort of apotheosis or concretization of a group mind". (Harris 1972:478).

symbolism about animals is not present, which underlines the agricultural bias of this society.

The lexical inventory of the following categories was inspected in the hope of indicating cultural definitions regarding edible and non-edible animals. Preferences with regard to food are found in most societies, involving a partly arbitrary evaluation. This evaluation is basically a sort of categorization.

6.1 EDIBLE ANIMALS¹

e nnangaazi, hartebeest; e nnyana, calf; e nsaata, barren goat or cow; e nsama, water-buck; e nseenene, edible grasshopper; e nseera, pullet; e nsenyi, pullet; e nsirabo, oribi antelope; e nsuku, red forest duiker; e nsunu, Uganda cob; e ntaama, sheep; e ntalaganya, blue duiker; e nte, cow; e ntengo, eland; e nkofu, guinea fowl; e nkoko, hen; e nkorongo, roan antelope; e nkunku, hornless cow; e nnaka, small edible termite; e ndaada, cock; e ndiga, sheep; e nfulubiru, water-hen; e ngabi, bush buck; e ngobolo, goat given to witnesses of contract; e njaba, crab; e njaza, reed-buck; e njobe, marsh antelope; e njujulu, cockerel; e mpanga, cock; e mbaata, duck; e mbeere, sow; e mbuzi, goat; e mpala, antelope; e nswa, drone male termite.

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- 1) "...for agriculture and the domestication of animals could only have been the result of patient observation and experimentation. (Levi-Strauss 1966:13). Primitive man, in fact has an extensive knowledge of his natural surroundings, which is framed into large, internally coherent, taxonomic systems based upon universal logical principles". (Crick 1976:48).

6.2 NON-EDIBLE ANIMALS

e nnumba, hornet; e nnunda, Abdim's stork;
e nnundansige, violet stork; e nnyengere, maggot;
e nnyenje, cockroach; e nnyumbu, mule; e nsanafu,
reddish-brown soldier ant; e nsega, vulture; e nsejjere,
kind of termite; e nsekero, louse; e nsiri, mosquito;
e nsogobe, still born calf; e nsogwe, darter; e nsole,
puppy; e nsolo, animal; e nsolozosi, small venomous ant;
e nsombabyuma, kangaroo rat; e nsoove, small black cormo-
rant; e nsowere, house fly; e nswaswa, large water lizard;
e swera, spitting snake; e ntaggya, striped hyena;
e ntakke, kind of termite; e ntale, lion; e ntalumbwa,
type of ant; e ntenga, swarm of humming termites;
e nkenga, tree frog; e nkerebwe, tree squirrel; e nkobe,
ape; e nkolwa, mongoose; e nkolya, dog with no power of
smell; e nkonga, kind of frog; e nkula, rhinoceros;
e nkuuve, insect which attacks maize; e nkuyege, worker
termite; e nkwa, cattle tick; e nkwenda, kind of termite;
e ndabi, type of animal; e ndizaala, small tree frog;
e ndogoyi, donkey; e nfaana, tapeworm; e nfudu, tortoise;
e nfunyirizi, insect; e ngiri, wart-hog; e ngo, leopard;
e ngolo, gorilla; e nguuli, huge elephant; e njangwa,
wild cat; e njovu, elephant; e njuki, bee; e mpawa, kind
of termite; e mpiri, very venomous snake; e mpisi,
hyaena; e mpologoma, lion; e mbaala, kind of termite;
e mbaki, genet cat; e mbalaasi, horse; e mbalakaasa, adder;
e mbalasaasa, small deadly snake; e mbalwa, small rodent;
e mbizzi, wild pig; e mbogo, buffalo; e mbulabuzi, wild
goat; e mbwa, dog; e mmangala, lesser cane rat; e mmese,

mouse; e mmondo, serval cat; e mmunyungu, colobus monkey;
ekkapa, cat; e bowe, jackal; e ssossolye, bulbul;

6.3 FISH

The ordinary sort of fish is also classified. The main characteristic appears to be the fact that they live in shoals usually in the same location.

e mbegedde, elephant snout fish; e kumbi, elephant snout fish; e mmamba, lung fish; e mbovu, kind of lake fish; e mputa, Nile perch; e mpongo, kind of lake fish; e nkalakaka, kind of fish; e nkakalukanyi, kind of fish; e ngege, fresh water fish; e ndulumba, small fish; e nkyulukyulu, small fish; e nkuyu, largish fish; e nkolongo, squeaker cat fish; e nkejje, small fish; e nsuma, kind of fish; e nsonzi, small mud fish; e nningu, fish.

6.4 BIRDS

In the category of the birds especially those with a peculiar beak are represented or birds usually living in colonies.

e ddirawamu, bald buzzard; e bbalwa, purple heron;
e kunguvvi, whyday finch; e mmaaya, ostrich; e magga,
black shouldered kite; e mpuunamulungu, bird the size of
a pidgeon; e mpungu, bateleur eagle; e nkambo, yellow
billed oxpecker; e njujju, dric dric bird; e ngwizi,
paradise fly catcher; e nfampewo, cuckoo; e ndiisa, lark;
e ndegeya, weaver finch; e nkwenge, green parakeet;
e nkwale, partridge; e nkusu, grey parrot; e nkoonamasaonko,
open billed stork; e nkonkonamuti, woodpecker barbet;
e nkazaluggya, sparrow; e ntawulira, honey badger;
e ntanzi, green pidgeon; e ntaayi, swallow; e nnyonza,
robin chat; e nnyonyi, bird.

6.5 FRUITS AND SEEDS

The names of all sorts of fruits and seeds or fruits containing seeds are located in this class. Probably on account of the plurality involved none of these nouns have ascended to the level of class 2.

e mpafu, fruit of muwafu tree; e mmwanyi, coffee berry; e mberenge, dried head of maize; e kalanga, groundnuts; e bbirinnanya, egg-plant; e mputta, uneatable potatoes; e mpombojjo, green sorghum millet; e mpirivuva, fruit of wild date palm; e mpindi, kind of large bean; e mpengere, green sorghum millet; e mpeke, grain, seed; e mpande, ground nut; e mpambo, seed of creeper; e nje, seed of empafu fruit; e njagi, egg fruit; e ndaggu, kind of yam; e nnaanansi, pine apple; e nkulugutanyi, kind of small mushroom; e nkolobwa, fibrous potatoe; e nkenene, wild raspberry; e ntengo, colocynth berry; e nsunumwa, young mushroom; e nsoga, castor-oil plant; e nsigo, seed; e nsaali, wild cherry; e nnyaga, sesame; e nnyaanya, tomato; e nnumbu, kind of yam; e nniina, tomato.

6.a FISHING AND HUNTING TERMS

In the periphery of the animal world, a number of fishing and hunting terms are situated, including the terms for modern fire-arms.

e nfabusa, third haul of dragnet; e mmasu, trap for antelope; e mmiimo, small net for mud fish; e nkanda, string snare; e ngali, lid of fish trap; e nkanula, large reliable spear; e gala, mouth of fish trap; e ndago, bait used in fish-nets; e nsumbyo, type of lake Victoria fish-trap; e nkonyogo, small stick for throwing; e nsindirirwa, muzzle loader gun; e mmanduso, trigger of gun or snare; e mmundu, rifle; e firipi, hammer of gun; e fataaki, gun cap of old fashioned fire arm; e basitoola, pistol; e njabaabo, fishing float; e nkasi, paddle; e ndijjo, stake to which boards of canoe are strained by rope; e malekebu, ship; e mbiru, log to slide canoe over; e mmanvu, dug-out canoe; e mpumi, projecting end of canoe; e nkuli, bunch of feathers on prow of canoe; e ntabiro, joint or seam between two planks in canoe; e nsigulo, seat in canoe next but one from the stern; e nsizi, seat for helmsman in canoe.

6.b PERSONS

As in all classes also a number of names for persons are mentioned. From the enumeration in this category it appears that mostly those persons are mentioned for whom some sort of depreciation is felt.

This is probably in accordance with the overall character of the class in as far as the valuation is concerned. Also a number of young and developing persons are mentioned in connotation with the idea of fruits and seeds as seminal to the fully grown specimen of the sort, supporting the undifferentiated character of the class.

e nkobikkobi, chatterbox; e nkeremeke, feeble person;
e nteeka, male virgin; e ntate, impossible person;
e ntangamalaala, reckless person; e ntambaazi, impossible person;
e ntakuttaku, fierce person; e nswenke, poor homeless person;
e nsusunba, odd one; e nsibuka, greenhorn;
e nseraweeru, poor wretch; e nnyanyaali, dandy; e nnyanka, very thin person;
e nnyanjuliro, a normally developing child; e ngajaba, careless person; e mbula, beardless youth;
e mbulakayu, homeless person; e mbirigo, thick-set person;
e mbalangu, rude individual; e mpalamalanga, hot-head;
e mmomboze, vagabond; e mmandwa, person supposed to be possessed by a lubaale;
e mbuula, bachelor;
e mbeerera, virgin; e mbalangu, brusque fellow;
e mpunywuni, dense person; e mpisiliyisi, vagabond;
e mperekeze, bridesmaid; e mpendeke, invalid; e mpemenku, swindler;
e mpombotto, simpleton; e mpape, madcap;
e njeejeebe, weak person; e ngujunba, irresponsible person;
e ngubu, stunted child; e nfunzi, orphan; e ndagu,

sorcerer; e nowampa, very poor person; e nkuowa, swindler;
e nkoboggo, child who should be able to walk but totters.

6.c PARTS OF THE BODY

In connection with the group of persons, a number of parts of the human body is mentioned, in which a duality inherent to those parts is experienced. In this sense also these words are in accordance with the typical feature of the class, although the exact reason necessarily remains probabilistic.

e nkwawa, armpit; e nkwakwa, shoulder-blade; e nkuta, skin; e nkugunya, buttocks; e nkolo, back of the neck; e nkoono, back of the head; e nkizi, spinal cord; e nkenga, inguinal gland; e mmunye, pupil of eye; e mmeeme, sternum; e mmanda, chest; e mmana, vagina; e mbolo, penis; e mbalakaso, groin; e ngereka, tooth growing over another; e nnenzi, genitals; e mputtululu, side of face; e mpulukutu, space in front of the ear; e mpuliro, orifice; e mpulirizo, hearing channel of the ear; e nteeko, coronoidal cavity; e ntaligita, testicles; e ntabirotabiro, perineum; e nswiriri, mandible; e nsungwe, foetal membrane; e nsungwa, hymen membrane; e nsolobotto, cheek; e nsikya, back of neck; e nsingo, neck; e nsengere, vertebrae; e nnyingo, joint of body; e nnyindo, nose; e nnuuni, pancreas.

6.d AILMENTS

A number of ailments which are recognized by leaving a mark on the body or which can otherwise be recognized by outwardly observable signs have found their place in this class.

e nkyakya, cracks on soles of feet; e nkuku, kunckle;
e nkufu, cyst on the head; e nkovu, scar; e nkiki, indigestion; e nkiiya, shaven patch in front of the head;
e nkenge, oedema; e mmambavu, swelling of the glands;
e mbubu, indigestion; e mbowa, rheumatism; e mbaluka, syphilitic cancer; e mbaliga, splitfootedness; e mbalalu, pimples on the face; e mpujju, slight squint; e nsundo, kind of pimple; e nsowoko, rheumatic pains in the arms;
e nsige, wrinkles in the forehead; e nsenke, disease of the eyes; e nsanke, jet of blood; e nsaanuusi, internal pains; e ntumbi, dropsy; e nti, core of boil; e nzimire, epilepsy.

6.e PLANTS

A small number of plants is represented, mainly growing up from the ground without one singular stem, thus creating the impression of plurality.

e mbubbu, tall grass with prickly spicules; e mbooge, edible plant; e mbo, reeds of raffia plant; e mpwanyi, strychnia plant; e mpunta, spicule of grass; e mpingula, long kind of thorn; e mpeewo, bush; e mpeefu, kind of large edible mushroom; e nkaawo, variety of bamboo; e njole, small bunch of grass; e njaga, bhang; e ndyabagole, kind of trefoil plant; e nderema, kind of edible plant; e ndeerwe, type of mushroom; e nkungube, shrub; e nkunga, amaranth plant; e nkoni, pipe-stem euphorbia; e ntangawuuzi, ginger plant; e nsubi, grass; e nnansali, climbing shrub; e ntuutu, water grass; e ntoma, young bush grass.

6.f TREES

In the enumeration of the few trees in this class hardly any special qualities are mentioned, in conformity with the tendency of this class. Perhaps the shape of the tree is the reason why people preferred to indicate them by means of the third class prefix?

e nsagalanyi, tree with walnut coloured wood; e mmimbiri, tree with dark fine grained wood; e mpinnamuti, tree; e mpewere, large flat topped tree; e nkanaga, thorny tree with hard wood; e nkalata, forest tree; e njeruka, kind of mutuba tree; e ndebesa, tree; e ndawa, tree; e nkyamuzi, type of bark-cloth tree; e nkuzanyana, tree; e nkunya, forest tree; e nkongoma, tree with very hard wood; e nkonge, stump of tree; e nkikimbo, tree; e nnongo, tree.

6.g LAND

As Manessy has indicated, an augmentative character, closely related to plurality may often be observed in the various nouns of this class. (Manessy 1962:139; 1965:185). This augmentative force is eminently felt in terms regarding land and country.

e nsi, land, country; e nsalo, boundary; e nnyanja, lake; e nkingi, boundary; e mpwanyi, coast; e buvanjuba, east; e bulaaya, europe; e kyaddondo, county of Buganda; e kyaggwe, county of Buganda; e lungujja, suburbs of Kampala; e misiri, Egypt.

6.h WEATHER

The general feature of the class is also experienced in a number of terms describing the natural conditions of weather and seasons, or events indicating a periode of time.

e nsonoosi, early morning heat; e nsibuko, source of river; e ntangize, morning heat; e nkeera, next morning; e nkoma, wind blowing from northern end of Lake Victoria; e nkya, morning; e ngezi, current; e ngulansiko, first rain after dry season; e njiyiro, month; e njuba, sun; e mpewo, wind; e masika, season of main rains; e mmunyeenye, star; e mbuyaga, stormy wind.

6.1 ABSTRACTA

Since this class had a less individualized nature it is eminently suitable for the location of abstract concepts. The nouns situated here are very common nouns, usually not describing exceptional situations or events as e.g. those in class I.

e nneema, divine grace; e nnono, meaning; e nnyonta, thirst; e nsa, flavour; e nsaalwa, envy; e nsaana, niceness; e nsako, pomp; e nsangi, time; e nsawu, vivacity; e nseera, sour taste; e nseko, laughter; e nsera, abundance; e nsikirano, perpetual heritage; e nsisi, dread; e nsobi, error; e nsonga, reason; e nsonyi, shame; e ntambula, way of walking; e ntata, misfortune; e ntatankiriza, interference; e ntatya, trouble; e ntege, strenght; e ntengerezo, nervousness; e ntentwe, smallness; e nkame, arrogance; e nkebe, ambush; e nkira, impossible tale; e nkiso, secret; e nkizo, advantage; e nkolwa, action; e nkula, shape; e nkulundu, abundance; e nkumu, heap; e nnaku, trouble; e ncukwe, terror; e ndasano, quarrel; e ndasi, strength for work; e ndibu, rancour; e nfaafa, immense number; e nfaanana, appearance; e nfumo, fable; e nfunda, time; e ngajaba, careless; e nga, spite; e ngulundu, conglomeration; e nguzi, bribe; e njala, hunger; e njawulo, difference; e njigirize, teaching; e njogera, speech; e njoogaano, uproar; e nkaka, biliousness; e nkaliriza, fixity; e mpapala, violence; e mpapiiro, vigour; e mpoze, defence in court; e mpulukanya, muddle.

6.k PLURALS ONLY

It is most likely that originally there was no distinction made between the singular and the plural in this class. This distinction appears to be in the beginning of its evolution now. The items indicated here suggest a collocation and are consequently treated as plural.

e mpala, tall unruly girls; e zaana, tall slender children;
e mbugubugu, wrinkles in the face; e mpataanya, spaces
between fingers; e mpi, palms of the hands; e ndali, squint;
e ndalo, spasms; e nfunyiro, folds between thigh and buttock;
e njala, finger nail; e njokyo, tribal body marks;
e nkiramkwa, fruits out of season; e nkulukuse, marks of
perspiration or tears on dark skin; e nsinga, hairs at
the end of an elephant's tail; e nteega, tendon at the
back of knee or ankle; e nvi, grey hair; e nviiri, hair
of the head; e mbinabina, hips; e mbira, large beads;
e mpiki, beads used to play omweso; e nsiiti, small hard
red seeds; e nva, vegetables; e ntuula, nets; e nkuba, rain;
e nsansa, bleached palm leaves for mat making; e nsinda,
kind of blue beads; e nzigi, doors; e mbabire, lines on
bark-cloth having design; e mbobya, type of small inedible
termite; e mboga, cauliflower; e mbuuba, cries; e mbwagulo,
raw potatoes; e mbweyaga, southern winds; e mmanga, planks
of canoe; e mmende, pigmy field mouse; e mpangi, furrows;
e mpeso, boundary; e mpya, courtyards; e ndaka, gills;
e nfukamirizi, outskirts; e njola, carvings; e nkampa,
stockings; e nku, firewood; e nkulo, scrapings from inside
of skin; e nkulukuku, small termite hills; e nnenge, bark-
cloth trimmed for use; e nnimi, languages; e nnyaafa,
cracks in pot; e nnyinya, tranches; e nsozi, hills.

7. A SURVEY OF THE FOURTH CLASS

The fourth class, indicated by the prefixes *ki*, or *ky* (sing) and *bi*, or *by* (plur) mainly contains inanimate objects and tends to express a peculiar augmentative force or a *modus quo*.

The peculiar augmentative quality has to be understood in the sense of something good for its size e.g. *Mbuzi*, a goat - *Kibuzi*, a short fat goat; *Nkota*, a bunch of plantains - *Kikota*, a short thick bunch of plantains; *Mwaana*, a child - *Kyana*, a chubby little child.

Customs and ways of life, in as far as they can be expressed by a noun, and objects such as used in the traffic of everyday life constitute the centre of this class. An idea of the way in which people usually act and the things they manufacture and use or even the nature of these phenomena are arranged under the common label of the prefixes *ki* or *bi*. As such the general feature of the class may be translated as a '*modus quo*', although also here this may not be experienced equally strong everywhere, since analogy plays an important role in this matters.

Since the formation of language is a process the beginning of which is very vague and its completeness will never be attained as long as human beings are capable of generating creative activities, these unconsciously formed categories of human speech will probably never cover completely the whole uninterrupted sequence of human experience. The lexicographic analysis may at most indicate some principles of classification in as far as they are related to the underlying meaning of the class. The sugges-

tion is that in some basic way this relation occurs through a manner of reacting to man-made environment by attaching meaning to these events and phenomena.¹

The procedure indicated is an attempt to group together a number of ideas and practices on the basis of what may be indicated at first sight as very trivial, in the expectation that the combined similarities may point to the "hidden fundamental elements which are the true components of the phenomena". (Levi-Strauss 1945:524).²

The objects enumerated are phenomena conscious in the minds of the language users and have to be regarded, in as far as their classification is concerned, in terms of an unconscious infrastructure. In other words, they must not be considered as independent units but rather in the sense that the basis for this classification is the relationship between the terms or items.³

However, it must be born in mind that "collective conscious-

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- 1) "The objectivating tendency of our minds makes the thought congenial that part of a word the significance of which we can determine by analysis must also have objectively an independent existence; but there is certainly no a priori reason that compels us to make this assumption. It must be proved to be true by empirical evidence". (Boas 1940:207).
 - 2) "This analytical work, trying to reduce the concrete complexity of the data....into more simple and elementary structures is still the fundamental task of sociology". (Levi-Strauss 1945:525).
 - 3) "The error of traditional anthropology, like that of traditional linguistics was to consider the tremms and not the relations between the terms".
(Levi-Strauss 1949:46)

ness is something more than a mere epiphenomenon of its morphological basis....in order that the former may appear, a synthesis *sui generis* of particular consciousness is required. Now this synthesis has the effect of disengaging a whole world of sentiments, ideas and images which, once born, obey laws all their own".

(Durkheim 1915:424, in Harris 1972:479).

As indicated above the specific features of the class may be suitably demonstrated by adding the class prefix to the stem of a noun of another class. In this way it is accentuated that the object concerned is either to be understood as a thing-like being, which in reality it isn't or as something good for its size, which in general it is not.

Anthropology is, amongst other things, concerned with the relationships which exist between people, between people and things and between things and things.

(cf. Rapoport 1976:486).

It then is also concerned with a variety of alternatives of choices which have been made and which are expressed in language. The force behind it is the human mind individually as well as collectively, since the ideas of the individual usually motivate the minds of others.

The inanimate objects of the class have come to represent and embody the way in which things are envisaged by the people who created them. Observing these items is part of

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- 4) "Culture is a system of explicit and implicit designs for living, which tends to be shared by all or specially designated members of a group".
(Linton 1945:78-105).

observing a life-style and in fact supports the notion that culture is a design for living.⁴

Sharing this design would indicate "systematic choices as well as wisdom founded on a universal philosophy".

(cf. Tempels 1948:112).

"The complexity in the structure of oppositional relationships, together with the vagueness of dimensions of contrast, makes it particularly difficult to define a complete set of semantic features for a number of linguistic items in the language. Notice that the difficulty arises from the inherent characteristics of the semantic system of the language and no theory, however complete, can be expected to produce a clearcut description".

(Ikegami 1977:80).

7.1 PERSONS

In a number of terms man is not approached as a person but rather as a thinglike being and this depreciation is expressed in a number of nouns for simple minded or otherwise less fortunate individuals:

e kyana, chubby little child; e kiwaama, a woman with withered breasts; e kitentebere, simpleton; e kitoolotoole, simpleton; e kitwaggu, fool; e kinritta, old man (derogatory); e kiyite, frolicsome child; e kiseebeezi, vagrant; e kitaakule, luckless individual; e kiwalatule, detestable person; e kisamasama, simpleton; e kijuujuulu, youth; e kigwagwa, stupid and indecent person; e kikata, a big child who refuses to begin to walk; e kinnamugwangu, slovenly person; e kinyanyagga, idiot.

7.2 PARTS OF THE BODY

An amount of words indicating parts of the human body especially those concerned with relieving human needs. Also words concerning hair are mentioned:

e kitiri, rectum; e kyenda, intestine; e kitogi, roll of fat on the back of the neck; e kitundwe, umbilical cord; e kiza, pubic hair; e kisambi, thigh, leg of meat; e kisige, eyebrow; e kisungwa, placenta; e kisunsuli, patch of hair left unshaven on the top of the head; e kisunyi, hymen; e kiwalannanga, skull; e kiwando, urinal; e kiwato, loin; e kiwuduwudu, headless corpse; e kirome, large head; e kirevu, beard; e kirira, umbilical cord; e kimyu, loin; e kinkumu, thumb; e kinyago, rectum; e kinyo, anus; e kinywa, tendon; e kikonde, fist; e kikondoolo, lap; e kikowe, eyelid; e kikufiri, small tuft of hair; e kikongo, lower backbone; e kifuba, chest; e kigere, foot; e kibuno, gum, palate; e kikumba, liver; e kibatu, palm of the hand; e kikambo, urinal.

7.3 DISEASES

As in the other classes diseases form a part of the classification and here the less dangerous ailments and handicaps are situated:

e kituulituuli, sore spot; e kituyu, asphyxia; e kyovu, irritable eruption; e kitengo, rigor; e kyalaalo, vaginitis; e kimiro, sore throat; e kiwuukirizi, syphilitic rhagade in foot; e kiyinyi, pus on sore eyes; e kiziyyiro, constipation; e kiwuulowuulo, swelling; e kiyimbiro, hoarseness of voice; e kiyiriitiro, rattle in throat; e kiyobyoy, eczema; e kizimba, tumour, swelling holding pus; e kiseera, line on wrinkle; e kisega, any venereal ulcer; e kisombi, gonorrhoea; e kisunyi, itching; e kisuyu, sore on corner of mouth; e kiwo, septic dermatitis; e kiwalaata, baldness; e kiwaluko, diarrhoea; e kiwuggwe, breathlessness; e kirasi, bleeding of the nose; e kirandalanda, haze in the eyes; e kipumpuli, pneumonia; e kirimi, swollen tongue; e kirogologo, nettlerash; e kisa, labour pain; e kimanyomenyo, aching of limbs; e kinsimbye, pleurisy; e kinubbi, scabies; e kikundu, syphillitic sore; e kikubuuko, enlarged spleen; e kikuulakuula, haemorrhage; e kikaata, scaly skin as a result of syphilis.

7.4 ABSTRACTA

According to Meinhof (1906:12) the usage of the class prefixes Ki and Bi, for indicating abstracta, have developed from the notion 'Sitte, Art und Weise'.¹

e kyego, insolence; e kyekango, fear, dread; e kitigi, cheek, insolence; e kitilibwa, glory, honour, respect; e kyeninyalo, disgust; e kivume, abuse, reproach; e kituyi, rancour; e kisaasaazi, any strong emotion; e kisago, be without respite; e kiisooso, expectation of disappointment; e kijaguzo, exultation; e kibonyoobonyoo, suffering; e kikkowe, sigh; e kikumo, wonder; e kikujjuko, marvel; e kyenvu, yellow colour; e kyezitazo, cause of offence; e kyewunyo, wonder; e kitto, cold; e kitulluze, shade; e kyeyendere, voluntary act; e kivve, abomination;

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- 1) "Voortaan wordt de belevingsstructuur veel meer in zijn momenten gezien; de verschillende onderdelen, personen feiten, toestanden, komen vrij scherp naar voren. Maar van de andere kant worden de onderlinge verhoudingen nog goeddeels bepaald naar dezelfde vormen van aanschouwelijkheid die hier telkens terugkeren, naar hetzelfde globale gevoelsbed waarin het geheel ligt gespreid. De ojectivering blijft dus nog slechts half, de totale integratie vaag; al betekent het natuurlijk ook een grote vooruitgang tegenover vroeger, dat aanschouwelijkheidsvormen en de waarderingscategorieën nu min of meer gerubriceerd en in een vast stelsel ondergebracht zijn. Ook de later geconstitueerde subjects- en objectscategorieën wijzen op het toenemen van de graad van abstractie....Geheel het wereldbeeld valt in een aantal sectoren uiteen, waarin elk voorkomend feit of ding zijn vaste plaats heeft.
- Onafhankelijk van deze categorieën kan men zich de dingen niet denken, benoemen en klassificeren zijn hier één". (Wils 1935:183).

e kivvulu, display; e kiwaayiro, supplement; e kyonoono, mistake; e kyenziira, sacrifice; e kiragiyo, instruction; e kiteerere, insubstantiated theory; e kyama, secret; e kiwuubaalo, sadness, sorrow, loneliness; e kiyiboyibo, familiarity; e kiyubayuba, setting sun; e kizikiza, darkness; e kisambula, time of the year when stubble is dug up; e kiseeneeko, deceit; e kiseero, time; e kissibo, lent; e kisémba, good standing; e kisobyo, wrong; e kitalo, wonder; e kitambo, possession; e kitangaala, light, transparency, brightness; e kiwalazima, expiring effort; e kirayiro, oath; e kiragiyo, command; e kirindizo, pretence; e kirowoozo, thought; e kisa, mercy; e kisalaganyi, lie, untruth; e kijjo, phenomenon; e kikongolo, grimace; e kikolimo, curse; e kikokko, riddle; e kiko, obscenity.

7.5 VEGETATION

Since "Language is but of the means of expression of collective thought and not the adequate expression of that thought itself" (Mauss 1923:125) it is obvious that language does not always provide all the constituents of culture.

All classes and categories contain a number of elements with specific characteristics and it is not likely that one element exclusively belongs to one class or category. The subdivision must be regarded in terms of perception,¹ of constructions of the mind, which determines its classification, rather than in terms of absolute truths.

In the category of vegetation as enumerated here, the characteristic feature of the class as something good for its size points to a number of partly ripened fruits or plants, to specimen with rather large leaves or flowers or to a number of plants which are experienced as things to be used as:

e kigagi, wild aloe; e kibala, fruit; e kibeere, thorny tree; e kibira, forest; e kibogwa, any partly ripened fruit; e kibundubundu, savanna tree (*Steganotaenia araliacea*); e kidaaga, kind of mushroom; e kifabalakazi,

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- 1) "There is a sense in which the nature of human action implies that the facts with which any human science is concerned are substantially constituted by ordinary human perception.....semantic anthropology assumes that these more ordinary terms of human self-understanding have a most strategic scientific value". (Crick 1976:57).

tulip tree (*Spatodea campanulata*); e kifumufumu, plant;
e kifunvuba, swelling or knot in tree; e kigaga, variety
of papyrus; e kigali, camel-foot tree (*Bauhinia thonningii*);
e kigalulira, root of yam while still young; e kigunde,
pulp of boiled mashed beans; e kigoogwa, sisal; e kikami,
type of burdock plant used to cure boils (*Perodicticus*
potto); e kikajjo, sugar cane; e kibalaga, moss; e kiku,
rotten branch; e kikoola, leaf of tree; e kikookooma,
plant with large leaves like tobacco which are used by
wet nurses; e kikongo, kind of yam; e kikona, fruit slow
in ripening; e kikolo, root; e kiywebwa, groundnut;
e kinyololo, young beanpod; e kinogolerwa, flower stalk;
e kimyula, yellow flower like sunflower; e kimuli, flower;
e kimogoti, large kind of empindi bean; e kimmanje, plant
with flower like primrose; e kimemeresi, seeds self sown;
e kisamba, floating papyrus; e kisalale, dry fibrous
potato; e kisaka, thicket, bush; e kisagazi, elephant
grass; e kisaalugumba, large mash plant; e kisaalu, rush
plant; e kityo, gourd vine (*Lagenaria vulgaris*); e kirundu,
large tree (*Antiaris toxicaria*) for making beer canoes;
e kirumbirumbi, young sugar cane; e kirobe, shrub with
hoof-like thorns; e kiriga, fruit of mokobe creeper,
bitter and inedible; e kiraso, dried up fruit; e kireebwe,
kind of waterlily; e kireere, shrub; e kiwucu, type of
grass; e kiwoggya, type of shrub growing in water, the
stems float and are used for spearing lungfish; e kiweriya,
large water lily (*Nymphoca alba*); e kisimbe, young shoot
or tree transplanted; e kiserinnyabbi, cactus-like plant
whose leaves are used as sponge or medicine; e kisekeseke,

acacia type of shrub, having a hollow stem used for
pipestems and for sucking beer; e kisebe, kind of yam.

7.6 ANIMALS

Most of the names of animals are situated in the third class of the system, in which the feature of plurality is connected to the various species of animals, which results in a rather vague description of the animal world.

In this category another dimension is added, reflecting in some instances the peculiar size of the specimen, which is a characteristic for this class, often expressed by the idea of a short, fat living thing e.g. a tick full of blood, a frog, a large hairy caterpillar, a large wild animal etc:

e kyannyanja, fish; e kitulazi, pullet which has begun to lay; e kivu, tsetse fly; e kiwaawaatira, wing; e kyonga, large hairy caterpillar; e kyoya, feather; e kiyoyo, teal; e kiwungulu, owl; e kiyinduke, goat with long grey hair; e kiyinga, thigh of animal; e kiyubwe, cast snake skin; e kisambabdege, large yellow vetch; e kisejjere, hill of nsejjere termites; e kisiisa, kind of caterpillar; e kisinja, large fish; e kisokomi, large white earthworm; e kisololo, large wild animal; e kisookondwe, bug resembling a tick full of blood; e kisu, bird's nest; e ksuma, elephant snout fish; e kiswa, termite hill; e kitaakula, small insect which bores into dry wood; e kiwojjolo, butterfly, moth; e kiwawa, wing; e kiwuka, insect; e kirembwe, kind of ant; e kisaayi, hairy caterpillar; e kimbala, goliath heron; e kimommo, large kind of ant; e kimyamunti, musteline mammal like badger; e kinokozi, predatory bird; e kinozo, leech; e kinnulo, hoof; e kinya, large lizard; e kinyira, large fruit bat; e kinyomo, large

black ant; e kinwamunte, tick bird; e kikata, large head pad; e kikere, frog; e kiku, bed bug; e kikufuffu, large type of owl; e kikwalo, skin of animal where hair is scorched off; e kibe, jackal; e kibembe, honeycom crust clot; e kibo, bug; e kikakanya, small animal; e kijuujulu, young cockerel; e kijonjoli, fledgling; e kijogoli, bird; e kigwagwa, coppertailed monkey; e kigaya, large baboon.

7.7 PLACE

In connection with the foregoing characteristics a number of enclosed places, in which the idea of size or a peculiar shape is experienced, is classed together. The abstract idea of place is concretized¹ as a thing in which one e.g. keeps cattle or in which a game is played. Similarly the idea of place is associated with the function it has in these circumstances.²

e kyanja, room, space; e kyererezi, clear space; e kyesero, watering place for cattle; e kituli, hole; e kituuti, platform of earth; e kiteeko, place for waterpot in hut; e kyagi, small granary; e kyalo, village; e kizimbe, building; e kiwummulo, resting place, halt, break; e kiyigo, latrine; e kiyonjo, cage; e kiyungu, kitchen; e kizigo, circle where beasts are rounded up; e kisambiro, footballfield; e kisambu, area under stubble; ekisasi, porch; e kiseggusi, side of porch; e kisenge, partition wall, room; e kisibo, pen for sheep or goats; e kisirikko, hole in which beervat is placed for fermentation; e kisulo,

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- 1) "A 'science of the concrete' produces myth and magic; nature approached on the other level (abstract) yields physical science....but natural science in Levi-Strauss' view, is merely a 'domestication' of a universal rationality (1966:219)".(Crick 1976:48).
 - 2) "Animal categories have been shown to be homologous, not only with kinship categories but even with the physical structure of the house (Tambiah 1969). What one might have regarded as discriminations in a domain, therefore, are actually refractions of larger socio-conceptual schemes".(Crick 1976:70).

resting place, camp; e kitabo, raised platform in hut where goats are kept; e kitawuluzi, muluka's court; e kitebe, place where emigrants settle; e kiwompoma, deserted house; e kiwalakate, parched arid place, bald patch on head; e kirabo, drinking shop; e kiraabo, cattle kraal; e kiromba, clay pit; e kisaabangirize, clearing; e kisaawe, clearing in jungle; e kinkuliti, space under bed; e kinnya, hole; e kikande, deserted plantation; e kikubira, enclosure for a bride; e kikubiro, border of road where rubbish is thrown; e kibanja, plot; e kiggya, tomb; e kiggwa, shrine of heathen deity; e kigo, fenced enclosure; e kiguli, cage; e kigumbo, mustering place of cows; e kikaali, royal enclosure; e kikaabugo, temporary enclosure of green reeds; e kigango, audience hall of the king; e kigalala, house without partitions; e kigalamiriro, bivouac; e kifulukwa, deserted place; e kifugi, porch; e kifo, place; e kidiba, pool.

7.8 UTENSILS

The present category constitutes the core of this class. It eminently illustrates the meaning as intended by the prefixes *ki* or *bi*. All the terms in this domain have one feature in common namely that they are all material objects displaying a certain function. Each term is attributed with the basic connotation (*modus quo*) by which it becomes a member of the class and with an adjectival qualification by which it is distinguished from all the others. Also here it should be kept in mind that "an ethnographic semantics which regards words as labels for pieces of reality and forgets the immensely complex symbolic load of primitive categories" (Rosaldo 1972:83) will be of little value to the anthropologist. (cf. Crick 1976:70).

The fact that the objects are indicated by the specific class prefix seems to suggest that they are ordinary items in the sense of the value attributed to them by the community:

e kiba, string, strand; *e kibangali*, plank; *e kibalangulo*, wooden strop; *kibanvu*, poor wooden trough; *e kibaya*, raft; *e kibbo*, basket; *e kibinuzo*, lever; *e kibukutu*, covering of bark cloth; *e kibooko*, whip of hippo hide; *e kibya*, bowl; *e kide*, bell; *e kidibundi*, broad and shortened calabash; *e kidima*, hoe; *e kiduuma*, swagger-stick; *e kifumu*, pick for digging holes; *e kigala*, stock of a gun; *e kigalamba*, scale; *e kigangali*, wide mouthed gourd; *e kigembe*, trap for large animals; *e kiggu*, castanet of sorcerer; *e kigingi*, handle of saw; *e kigodo*, rawhide thong; *e kigotte*, wooden pestle; *e kigu*, drop-trap; *e kiguju*, dried slice of young marrow; *e kiguniya*, sheet of canvas; *e kijagali*, skin cloak;

e kijiiko, spoon; e kikaayi, piece of gourd used as a
 scoop; e kikalango, frying pan; e kikambi, honey comb
 when honey is removed; e kikambwe, native sponge;
 e kibaaga, spear; e kikooyi, loin-cloth; e kibindi,
 bhang pipe; e kikompe, cup; e kikomo, brass, copper;
 e kikolokonda, knife-blade; e kikoligo, slave-stick,
 yoke; e kikokkolizo, snare, trap; e kikanduzu, rake;
 e kipande, writing tablet; e kinywabwino, blotting
 paper; e kinyejjo, latrine; e kinaabiro, washbasin;
 e kimpukumpuku, small mash tub for beer; e kikwasa,
 pin; e kisaato, skin used as garment; e kisaggo, collar
 or bracelet of cowry shells; e kisaanikizo, cover, cork;
 e kisaakaate, fence made of reeds; e kirungu, arrow-shaft;
 e kirumiko, vessel for cupping; e kirumba, poop, stern;
 e kiriri, native bedstead; e kijjukizo, memorial;
 e kifuvu, duster; e kidumo, dregs in unstrained beer;
 e kibiriiti, match, sulphur; e kibibiro, bank, dam;
 e kiruli, log; e kirima, beak of canoe; e kirenge, hoof;
 e kirembeko, beer offered to lubaale; e kiwago, colossus;
 e kiwero, rag, duster; e kiwenge, crest, tuft; e kiwenda,
 stern of canoe; e kitambala, towel; e kisitakka, term
 used for any earthenware pot.

Apart from nouns expressing material objects, a number
 of abstracta indicating the same feature have been allo-
 cated to this class. Groups, crowds and masses are experien-
 ced as lifeless objects and have as such found their way
 into the class of inanimate objects.¹

Sporting terms and nouns indicating features of nature,
 are situated here together with a large group of words in
 which the meaning 'Ding', 'Sache' or the modus quo is

expressed.

In general, and partly due to the large content of the foregoing classes, a certain depreciation begins to appear in these settings. The names for undeveloped and small items is remarkably high.

In the category of persons children are especially mentioned, together with small parts of the body. The same tendency is experienced in the group of vegetation and animals, where the small specimen of the sort take a leading part:

e kikolwa, a thing done; e kintu, thing in general;
e kibejjo, something extra good; e kiggye, a new thing;
e kiduduli, object as long as it is broad; e kireebereere, anything hanging in space or out of reach; e kirerya, thing of no weight; e kirobe, something caught by anything; e kirindizo, something provided on the change that it will be required; e kiwulungwa, rounded, moulded object; e kiwongole, a thing hollowed out; e kiwaawalo, a mortally wounded thing, anything giving an empty hollow sound; e kitonde, e created thing; e kyeninyalwa, a disgusting thing.

e kibiina, crowd, class; e kisaaganda, bundle; e kirindi,

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- 1) "Social semantics are to be understood in the life of society, not in the lifeless taxonomies; we dealing with 'practical knowledge' which is based on theories of both formal and informal kinds which are themselves part of the life of that society". (Crick 1976:80).

flock, band; e kirimba, cluster; e kifuko, crowd, collection; e kikwanga, sort, class; e kibinja, swarm; e kiwumi, mass.

e kiti, score in mweso; e kizeczengere, cricket; e kinyumu, sport; e kiduula, gathering for beer drinking; e kikwekweto, scouting expedition; e kiwanire, skirmish; e kigwo, throw in wrestling.

e kyengera, season of plenty; e kyeye, drought; e kyanda, drought; e kikome, dullness of weather; e kibaaze, opening in clouds; e kidde, bad overcast weather; e kijjagulwe, threatening rain; e kire, cloud; e kikankano, shaking earthquake.

e kilso, wretched eye; e kigambo, word; e kiggiro, smelting; e kigali, small offering made to spirits; e kigabi, mildew; e kifundikiro, knot; e kifunvu, mound; e kifeetete, nicotine; e kidduko, flight; e kidaali, lining of buttonholes on kkanzu; e kibutamu, saddle between two hills; e kibundugulu, at an abnormally late hour; e kibundibundi, with a very short neck; e kibuga, town; e kibonoomu, shooting star; e kibejjagalo, belch; e kibebemu, gristle; e kikuute, beaten track; e kikoomi, bonfire; e kikono, arm of lake; e kikomozo, take for keeps; e kikko, slope; e kikerejje, circuit; e kikasa, beating of drums in honour of lubaale; e kinaana, eighty; e kirooto, dream; e kiro, night; e kiramago, day's march; e kiwulu, orifice; e kiwoobe, lamentation; e kiwonvu, valley; e kiwayi, portion; e kiwandiko, writing; e kiwendo, human sacrifice; e kitambiro, sacrifice; e kitaba, flood; e kitaani, linen; e kisinde, track.

7.9 PLURALS

The last category in this class contains items from all the foregoing categories with the specific connotation that they are used in the plural only:

e biti, girdle worn next to skin by young girls; e biswasi, tasteless and very poor quality salt; byaziyazi, rockyness; e biyengo, property; e bitebe, free charged by judge; e byafaayo, history; e byaswabaka, nonsense; e bitanga, black and white patches; e bisusuuko, chaff; e bisoko, phrases or variation not in original; e bisukko, chaff; e bisoddoma, waste of semsem; e bisobooza, young leaves of the bean; e bisayaga, sodomy; e bisisiro, grass which has been used for beer making; e bisiriiza, charred embers; e bibalabala, spots; e bibo, walls of waste matter cast by termites; e bibotya, grounds of millet in beer; e bicepere, tasty sauces; e bicwamugusa, grasshoppers which come in small numbers; e bifaayo, news; e byafaayo, past events; e bifeetete, nicotine; e bigalanga, flatulent dyspepsia, e bigenge, leprosy; e bigondo, spots; e bigoto, trinkets; e biguuna, ringworm; e bijonjo, sleep in the eye; e bikaakaabule, staleness; e bikaata, scaly syphilitic rash; e bikagga, beans; e bikanja, dregs of beer; e bikankanyiga, waste stalks; e biko, lewdness; e bikokkoloze, dirt; e bikoso, edible roots of water plant; e bikujjuju, roughness, spots; e bikudumo, dregs of mubisi; e bikukujju, moss; e bikwakwaja, dust; e bikwera, scaly rash in syphilis; e bikya, tendons of neck; e binaabizaamu, tree like laburnum; e binege, testicles; e binnonoggo, condiments; e birulerule, discharge of

diseased eyes; e birungu, weeds; e bisa, labour pains;
e bisale, school fees; e bisasiro, rubbish; e bisibosibo,
crumbly stone used in pottery; e bitaba, flood;
e biyengeyenge, eyes full of tears.

8. A SURVEY OF FIFTH CLASS

The fifth class contains nouns whose plural is formed with *ma-*. The over-all impression created by this prefix is one of duality, collectivity or continuity.

In close connection herewith abstract terms have come to constitute the larger part of the class, since an abstract idea can only be obtained by comparing a number of concrete objects, all of which share a specific quality.

The plurality tends to refer to shapeless substances and extents such as: water, milk, blood, fat, oil etc.¹

The sense of collectivity probably prepares the way for a purely plural category and as such one could consider this class also as being in a phase of transition.²

As stated before, within the class a tendency for dual composition is present, as expressed in nouns associated with two objects.

This duality is not used as a grammatical category and in situations where it could have been employed as such, the corresponding plural takes its place. The fact that a duality can be so designated does not mean to say that the system of concords adapts in another way than would be the case for reference to any number greater than one.

1) Meinhof observes that: "Der Deutsche Singular für diese Worte, stellt ja auch ein Kollektivisches, eine Menge dar". (Meinhof 1906:9).

2) Wils has also indicated how in many cases this sense of collectively, this global impression, prepares the way for a purely plural category. (Wils 1935:426).

The singular prefix for this class seems to have been li-, although this does not occur in many words any more. Instead, most singular nouns begin with a double consonant. Noteworthy is the complete absense of persons in this class, although words indicating a person may be formed by changing the class prefix of the word into li- in order to name a specially large person, e.g. mu - htu, li - ntu, ma - ntu, meaning : giant.

With some words there may be doubt whether they should be regarded as li- class or as n- class nouns. Size, then, is often a criterion and because largeness is generally associated with the li- class, it may be used to express size or quality above the average, both in a flattering and non-flattering sense.

Collectivity, however, can be viewed according to one's point of view, either as one or as many and it is the task of the user of the language to decide between the two.

8.1 ANIMALS

In the enumeration of animals, as represented in this class, the idea of largeness seems to have been the determining factor, expressing at the same time some caution to be observed.

Belonging to the animal category a number of nouns is mentioned in which a duality or collectivity is expressed:

e ssalambwa, puff-adder; e ssamba, kind of eagle;
e ssambalugi, large grey grasshopper; e ssami, edible gnat, lake fly; e ssukkamugga, mason wasp; e ttenankima, dark tree climbing snake, very venomous snake; e ttutuma, bottle bird; e zzike, chimpanzee; e jjanzi, large grasshopper; e jjiba, dove; e jjamba, kind of small fish; e ffubutunzi, large lizzard; e ffulungu, plantain eater; e ffukuzi, mole-rat; e ffumbe, civet cat; e ggonya, crocodile; e ggongole, type of millipede; e ggolo, bug bear; e kkumbi, elephant snout fish; e ggunju, wild cat; e kkufufu, large owl; e kkona, large termite; e kkokootezi, common grey plantain eater bird; e kkonkoml, large lizzard; e kkomante, large caterpillar; e kkenda, soldier ant; e ddunambogo, gad-fly; e mbogo, gad-fly; e kkunsu, young boar.

e ggamba, scale of fish; e jjinirizi, hair along spine of the back of animals; e jjindu, spur; e jjoba, tuft of feathers; e ggindu, spur of fowl; e ssonko, snail-shell; e ssanga, tusk of elephant; e ssongezo, canine tooth; e ggondo, spot on leopard; e bbago, scrap of meat; e ddimbwe, pidgeon or fowl dropping.

8.2 PARTS OF THE BODY

Notwithstanding the fact that nouns representing human beings are not mentioned in this class, its periphery is present in as far as a duality is experienced in these parts.

As far as human ailments are concerned, the idea of a swelling filled with moisture is most prominent.

e ssabiwo, collar-bone; e ssega, bald patch running from side of the fore-head; e ssisi, hair, plumage; e ttako, buttock; e ttutumba, foetus, embryo; e vvivi, knee; e zziga, tear, weeping; e ggumba, bone; e gguggwa, lung; e ggomo, duodenum; e kkugumyu, thigh-bone; e kkosi, back of neck; e ddiba, skin; e ddozo, eye; e bbaba, labia majora; e bbavu, muscle in side of human body; e bbeere, breast; e bbiri, large body; e ddookooli, adam's apple; e ddooboozi, voice; e rrinyo, tooth; e liiso, eye; e kkundi, navel; umbilicus; e ggego, molar teeth; e ggina, crest of hair.

e ssamasama, gum-boil; e ttulu, blind eye; e ttumbiizi, disease of infants with vomiting and foaming at the mouth; e ryovu, acne; e kkuluba, simple tumor; e gga, crack in foot; e bbwa, sore; e kkiravi, synovitis water in the knee; e bbavu, blister in palm of the hand; e bbanyi, inflamed breast; e bbango, hump on back; e bbambavu, blister; e kkonda, heartburn; e jjanga, disease of the eye; e ggiririzi, a skin disease; e ggirikiiti, irritating rash.

8.3 FRUITS AND PLANTS

Particularly those fruits consisting out of two identical halves or those producing a multitude of seeds are incorporated.

Analogous to this feature, a number of plants as specimen which produce a multitude of leaves or flowers, or those with an extraordinary growth are mentioned:

e ppaapaali, pawpaw; e ppeera, guava; e ssayiri, barley; e ttovu, thistle; e ttugunda, edible fruit of mutugunda; e ttungulu, red acid fruit, garlic; e bbanda, bamboo; e bbere, ear of corn; e bbungo, fruit of rubber vine; e bbuuze, chevelure; e kkomamawanga, pomegranate; e ddemu, fruit of the mulemu; e jjebe, dried fruit of a tree used as a rattle.

e ggobe, an edible plant; e gguggu, type of water-grass making soft thatch; e ggula, type of convolvulus creeper; e ggimbi, spicula on reed grass; e jjange, flower of maize; e jjerengeza, leaf of the basket wattle; e kkuluba, knot or swelling in a tree; e ddanga, canna lily; e ddagala, leaf, medicine; e kkomba, castor oil plant; e kkobe, fruit like large chestnut of mukobe; e bbuga, small edible leaves of a kind of spinach; e bbombo, climbing plant; e kkandwa, shrub with hard wood; e dduli, indian hemp seed; e ttutu, tip of ssenke grass; e ttooma, jungle at second stage of growth; e ttimpa, leaves of arum lily; e ttembere, wattle; e tteete, very fine grass which is used for carpeting an earth floor; e ttabi, branch, bough; e ssunsa, leaves of a creeper; e ssunduba, swelling or knot on tree or calabash; e ssinzi, tuber root of mukobe

plant; e ssenke, grass used for thatching and for brewing;
e ssanso, topmost branch of a tree; e ssanda, sap, gum,
latex; e ssaalu, reed with irritating spicules;
e ggologolo, type of palm tree; e kkookoowe, large leave
fig tree, the bark of which is used to make a coarse
bark-cloth.

8.4 ABSTRACTA

As mentioned already, the centre of attention in this class is directed towards a large number of abstract nouns in which an ever recurring fact or an unlimited amount is expressed:

e ssaala, prayer; e ssaawa, hour; e ssakki, freedom, liberty; e ssaana, hot sun of midday; e ssanyu, gladness, joy, pleasure; e ssava, fatness, fatted cow; e ssimba, trust, freedom, licence; e ssimbo, dignity; e ssukumbuli, insolence; e ssukuti, insolence; e ssuubi, hope; e ttalo, charm; e ttama, impertinence; e tteka, law, commandement; e ttemu, enmity, robbery with assault; e ttendo, glory, praise; e ttigi, insolence; e ttima, spite; e ttiribona, smartness; e ttitimbuli, mischief; e ttuluba, class, category; e ttumbi, midnight; e ttuntu, midday; e ttutumumu, fame, rumour; e ttwale, sphere of government; e zzoba, lunar month; e jjayo, musty smell; e ggowo, sweet smell; e ddekende, perfume; e ddekeereke, good flavour; e kke, scent; e kkalalume, odour of goats; e kkye, odour; e ggwale, stubbornness; e jjingirizi, abundance; e jjeza, isolation; e jjembe, charm; e jjano, marvel; e jjaliri, freedom from care; e gwiiso, prosperity; e ggwanga, nation; e ggwanga, vindictiveness; e ffugabi, misrule; e ggandaalo, siesta time; e ffutwa, aversion; e ggoba, profit; e ggero, wonder; e ggenya, impudence; e ggayangana, fatuity; e ggambo, news; e ggume, vigour; e ggonjebwa, gentleness; e kkulu, meaning; e ggwako, conception; e ggwaggali, obstinacy; e ggayaalo, idleness; e ddembe, freedom; e ddalu, madness; e ddaame, will; e bbugumu, heat; e bbuba, jealousy; e booki, comfort; e bbogo, angry words;

e kkoligo, leg trick; e kkokkoliko, dirth; e bbuto, stoutness; e bbogo, snappishness; e bbeetu, respite; e kko, dirth; e kkekwa, shortage; e kkayu, sourness; e kkatala, task; e kkabyo, moroseness; e bballi, side; e bbabe, burnt taste; e bbanja, debt; e bbanga, time; e ddyaa, married state; e ddungu, wilderness; e dduge, smell of rotten pith of a gourd; e ddowo, thirst; e ddogojo, madness; e ddogo, charm; e llinya, name, e kkulu, sufficiency.

8.5 PLACES

The following nouns indicating an enclosed place have a singular form. They evoke the impression of being nouns which are used of spatially discrete or formed objects. The image of continuity and collectivity is also represented:

e ssaazi, herding place outside kraal; e ssabo, shrine;
e ssanduku, box; e ssaza, county, district; e ssenero, brewery; e ssiro, burying place for a king; e ssomero, school; e ttabaaliro, battlefield; e ttale, uncultivated land, pasture, dry land; e ttambiro, place for human sacrifice; e ttanda, place of the dead; e tterekero, safe, trunk, box; e ttendo, deserted kraal; e ttundiro, shop; e jjigirizo, school; e ggwoolozo, place for collecting dues, custom house; e ggwolezo, place for trying cases, tribunal; e ggwanika, store, cupboard; e ffumbiro, kitchen; e ffiro, fatal place; e ddubi, deep muddy hole; e gwaatiro, place where food is peeled before cooking; e gguuliro, threshing floor; e bbuliro, bottomless pit; e kkomera, prison; e kkomagi, shed where bark-cloth is beaten out; e kkolokooni, guard room; e kkolero, workshop; e bbuliro, bottomless pit; e bbooma, fenced enclose; e kkerezia, church; e bbajiro, carpenter's shop; e bbaajiro, slaughter-house; e jjaaniko, drying place for clothes; e ddwaaliro, hospital; e ddugulugu, dark recess; e ddiro, eating place; e kkunnaanairo, meeting place; e jjirizo, cage for wild animals.

8.6 UTENSILS

In the category of utensils, rather largely represented here, a dimension of roundness is added, suggesting some sort of largeness or importance above the average:

e ppesa, button, coin; e ppipa, barrel; e ssaka, mallet for beating out bark-cloth; e ssamba, shackle; e ssambo, drag net; e ssasa, forge; e ssasi, lead, bullet, solder; e ssawaani, plate, dish; e ssengejero, filter, strainer; e ssiga, cooking stone, family in clan; e ssika, anchor; e ssuumwa, sponge for washing dead body; e ttanga, sail; e ttafaali, brick; e ttogero, large vessel for beer making; e ttundubaali, tarpaulin, ground sheet; e kkuti, powder flask; e ddipo, small stick; e ddirisa, window; e ddoobo, fish-hook; e batirizo, font; e bbaati, sheet of iron; e bbanvu, through for brewing beer; e kkabi, many pronged spear; e kkalwe, very hard iron; e kkanda, trong rope; e kkanyi, sharpened stick; e kkato, large needle; e bbeeti, pouch of leather; e bbiga, small cooking pot; e bbinikiro, large clumsy looking funnel; e bbirigi, plumb line; e bbona, collar; e bbumba, potter's clay; e kkongollijjo, curved stick; e kkondeere, trumpet, e ddebe, tin; e kkooba, large spear; e ggemu, bracelet of ivory; e ggezi, pronged wooden hoe; e ggwiso, large needle; e ggya, knife with curved blade.

8.7 PLURAL CATEGORIES ONLY

8.7.a PARTS OF THE BODY AND DISEASES

The plural category in the human periphery concentrates mainly on those parts of the human body, which exist in pairs. The diseases mentioned here equally create the impression of plurality associated with those parts of the body in which they are felt:

a mala, sole of foot; a makudde, buttock muscles; a magulu, legs; a magomo, folds of fat on the sides; a mabega, back; a mabeere, breasts; a maaso, eyes, face; a malaka, throat; a malira, curve of human foot; a malonda, testicles; a malusu, saliva; a manege, testicles and scrotum; a mannyo, teeth; a matama, cheeks; a matu, ears.

a mawenange, syphilitic bone pains; a makebe, east coast fever; a makajja, pyromositis; a maddu, ulcer outside ear; a malongojje, inflammation of the eyes; a mabulluga, mumps; a masanyalaze, cramp; a masira, pus, matter; a mazi, excrement.

8.7.b ABSTRACTA

Again in this plural category, abstract terms are situated, stressing the ever recurring fact or the unlimited amount:

a makulu, meaning; a makoda, smartness; a makkete, snigger;
a makiro, nymphomania; a makinagule, mocking; a majalya,
self-will; a magoba, profit; a magezi, wisdom; a magambo,
news; a maddu, greed; a madalya, banter; a mabbabbanyi,
dilemma; a maanyi, strenght; a malaba, pride; a malubya,
loquacity; a malunya, trouble; a mamiima, cockiness;
a masoso, solitude; a mavumiro, lamentation; a mawaggali,
obstinacy; a mawano, wonders; a mawemu, shame, trouble;
a mawulire, news, report; a mayisa, manners, behaviour.

8.7.c VEGETATION

A number of mushrooms and herbs is mentioned as a result of the amount of fruit or leaves they produce:

a makannango, kind of mushroom; a maggwa, thorns; a magejjo, tonic herbs; a magandaasi, half burnt reeds after graas fire; a maduudu, shrub Datura; a malagala, leaves; a matumagukadde, very brown crinkled type of large mushroom growing on or near tree-stumps.

8.7.d FOOD

Apart from the over-all character of the class, a category of food and beverages, used at special occasions, is situated here. The nouns are to be used in the plural only:

a makula, king's food; a makkalikkali, beer used in celebrating births; a maggi, eggs; a maluma, food without relish; a malwa, beer made from millet; a matambutambu, goods, food; a masagasaga, meat off the shoulders; a masavu, fat, lard; a mazzi, water; a mayinnaanyi, portion of the kill given to the third spearer; a mawolu, cold food; a mawa, very strong beer; a mataaba, tobacco smoked at funerals; a mata, milk; a masogola, brew of beer.

8.7.e REST-GROUP

This group of the plural category represent all the differentiations mentioned earlier in this class:

a makulubiro, worker termite; a makwansi, fish eagle;
a magabo, lateral stripes; a maliiri, cock-crow; a mayenje, speckless; a mawoge, stripes of black and white; a mayingo, trap; a malindi, fishing boats; a magonyagonya, coils;
a magenda, outward journey; a magemu, trousers turn-ups;
a magalo, pincers; a mafuta, oil; a madda, return journey;
a mabugo, grave-clothes; a malangalanga, rays of sun;
a massubbaawa, Mohammedan prayer beads; a matambulire, ways of walking; a matandiiko, saddle; a matwale, domain;
a mazina, dance; a masoggola, digging up of potatoes;
a masiro, burial place of princes; a masiira, silk stitching; a mazambu, belt; a manda, charcoal.

In the foregoing chapter a plurality, expressed by the prefix *ma-*, was discussed, which basically conveyed the idea of: 'one of two'. It was then suggested that the class might be in a state of transition, in the direction of a purely plural category, since the singular (*li-*, *eri-*,) as such is virtually absent as a grammatical category. The present class VI, which amongst other qualities, ascribes a peculiar augmentative force to the nouns in the sense of something long, thin, slender. It looks as if class V and class VI compensate each other in the sense that in class VI the singular is considered to be the original and not the plural, as is the case in class V. The emphasis lies on the individual specimen of the sort, as being 'one of more', expressed by the prefix *lu-*.¹ The plural is indicated by the prefix *en-*, which tallies completely with all the formative prefixes in the system of concords,² as used in class III. The relation between the plural of this class and the less detailed and less individualized character of class III seems to be supported by the fact that there is no observable grammatical distinction between the two. The only observable distinction lies in the experience with regard to animate and inanimate objects, of which the former constitute the

1) A similar phenomenon is observed in the Peli language. (cf. Meinhof 1906:16).

2) see appendix I.

leading part in class III.

However, classes in as far as they have been discussed yet, all contain a number of typical characteristic elements. It rarely happens that one element belongs exclusively to one class only.

This is so because classes are not to be considered as concrete objects but rather as concepts constructed by the human mind, which depend on choices inspired by circumstances, sense and value. They are not concerned with absolute and irrevocable veracities.

As stated above the prefix *lu-* expresses a peculiar augmentative force: e.g.

mbuzi - goat; *lu-buzi* - a tall thin goat.

linyo - tooth; *lu-nyo* - a long narrow tooth.

nkota - a bunch of plantains; *lu-kota* - a long poor bunch.

Consequently the peculiarity can be described as: something bad for its size.

9.1 PERSONS

In the category of the human beings a number of nouns has been incorporated which indicate either a plurality or the peculiar aspect of the class, sometimes in a metaphorical way:

o lujongojongo, person as thin as a lath; o lufulube, multitude; o lukokobe, one who outstays his welcome; o lukongoolo, he pointed him out; o lula, family; o lulyo, kindred family; o luliri, the whole company; o luse, species, family; o lusajjalala, flabby man, weakling; o luboozi, chatterbox; o lunsunku, he has given me the slip; o luseregende, large family; o lutikko, chief; o lugaaya, person standing to swing his leg over the head of somebody sitting in order to render him powerless; o lubasi, big stout man; o lwana, tall slender child; o lufufugge, a very frail person; o lugologombo, gang, mob; o lugana, crowd.

9.2 PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY

The feature of something long and thin is indicated in a set of terms referring to parts of the human body:

o lwatiiti, rectum; o lwoya, a hair; o lupa, lower jaw; o lususu, skin; o luta, distance from thumb to little finger; o lutagajjo, wide-mouthed; o lutegetege, tendon at back of knee; o luwago, bladder; o luwanga, jawbone of dead person; o lubiriizi, rib; o lulira, umbilical cord; o lukowe, eyelash; o lukiiya, edge of shaven patch on head; o lukinyikinyi, small intestine; o lukokola, elbow; o lukambulizo, dried up breasts; o lukanyanga, deep wrinkle on skin; o lukende, thin waist; o lugugumbulo, rib; o lugongo, spine; o lunywa, tendon achilles; o lufuuzi, lock of hair; o lugalo, finger; o lubuto, stomach, womb; o lunwe, index finger.

9.3 DISEASES

In connection with the human body, a number of diseases or states of the human body are mentioned, which are associated with the particular features of the class:

o lumamya, skin rash; o lumekeka, aching bonepains;
o lugubanguba, good health; o luzaala, childbirth;
o lizzizzi, discharge after childbirth; o lwoka, any internal pain; o luyimbiro, chronic bronchitis; o luyola, cutting on body for tribal marks; o lusomyo, swelling and pain in fingers; o luserenguzi, dysentry; o lusola, rash; o lutiko, goose-flesh; o luwaata, rheumatism; o lukusense, measles; o lukwagulo, scratch; o lukya, stiff neck; o lukuku, skin disease; o lukoligo, asthma; o lukoloboze, scratch; o lufuba, bronchitis; o lunubbi, dermatitis; o lubale, wound.

9.4 SPEECH

Languages, styles or expressions connected to speech are a speciality of this class. Again the element of length, albeit in a metaphorical sense, is to be noted:

o lumokko, long discussion; o luzungu, european language;
o lunyolo, language of Bunyoro; o lunyankole, language of Ankole; o ludikya, back-slang spoken by children;
o lugambo, mere talk; o lufumo, legend; o luganda, language of the Baganda; o lugero, saying, story; o lukwedenge, long winded speech; o lulimi, tongue, language; o lugano, story.

9.5 AGRICULTURE

In the agricultural sphere specimen are allocated to this class on account of their outward appearance or by reason of the products they yield in which the tendency of the class is incorporated:

o lusaala, type of tree, for making shafts of spears, it is very tall and slender; o lusa, marshy grass; o lujjula, climbing plant; o lugumagama, shrub from which good canoes are made; o lukenke, dense shrub of brambles; o lukenene, wild raspberry stem; o lukanaga, type of tree with sharp thorns; o lukobe, type of creeper; o lukoko, cutting or chip of sweet potato vine; o lukindu, wild date palm; o lukikimbo, type of small tree or shrub; o lukonzikonzi, kind of tall grass; o lukoma, palm pole; o lukolokolo, thorny creeper; o lukubansi, type of mushroom; o lukoota, hot tasting type of mushroom; o lulanda, trailing shoot; o lulago, reed of bulrush; o lukusakusa, bark of tree; o luleereetu, plant with hollow stem; o lusenke, mace reed; o lusansa, palm leaf of wild date palm; o lusambya, hard wood tree used for hut poles and furniture of all sorts (*Markhamia platycalyx*); o lubongo, leave on which tops are spun; o lusumbwa, kind of lake plant, like rushes with tall slender hollow stems and long narrow leaves like grass, favourite food of hippopotamus; o lubbulo, floating plant; o luwomerambuzi, kind of plant grows as weed often in newly dug earth; o luwoko, shrub; o luwiki, thorny bush; o luwerewere, stem of leaf of basket wattle; o luwawu, rough leaf of *figus exasperata*; o luwaayi, *strychnia* plant; o luvunvu, a fibre giving plant; o luwa, edible herb; o lutungotungo, wild plant like sesame; o lutubatuba, strip

of bark cloth tree; o lutabazzi, creeper found in marshy place; o lubongo, large leaf; o lusumbwa, kind of lake plant; o lusiiti, shrub which bears hard red seeds; o lunaba, african nutmeg tree (*Pycanthus kombo*); o lumuli, reed; o lumbugu, couch grass.

o lujjula, a climbing plant whose tendrils are used as adornment at the celebrations of the birth of twins. Its leaves, crushed in water, are used as medicine to cure colic pains. o lujjuliro, decoction of leaves used as a deodorant and as a medicine to cure enlarged spleen in children; o lukanaga, type of tree with sharp thorns. When they are removed the tree provides good poles for building. Its leaves are dark green with serrated edges; o likundi, wild date palm (*Phoenix reclinata*), its wood is reputed to be durable and to resist termites and fungi. It used to be tapped for making wine and its leaves are now widely used for making baskets and sleeping mats; o lukonzikonzi, kind of small grass with small plumes, whose dust, if it falls on the eyes is supposed to give trachoma. The plant resembles millet slightly; o lumaama, kind of weed found in clumps of bushes. Its flowers dried and powdered make snuff; o lusaala, a type of tree, which is very tall and slender with bushy branches. It is used for making shafts of spears; o lutoogo, papyrus bark twisted into rope; o luwaanyi, (*Dracoena fragrans*) strychnia plant, used for fences and for demarcating burial ground; o luwawu, rough leaf of *figus exasperata* used as sand-paper to smooth soft pottery; o luwoko, shrub whose leaves contain strong poison, they are sometimes rubbed on gonja plantain which is then roasted and eaten, it is a violent

purgative and is supposed to cure a rash or skin disease;
o luwomerambuzi, kind of plant which grows as weed often
in newly-dug earth. It has pink flowers which quickly
wither after flowering. It is a favourite food of goats,
as its name suggests.

9.6 ANIMALS

The same applies to terms belonging to the animal world, in which usefulness or danger is not considered at all. The description is more detailed than of those mentioned in the n- class.

The reason for this may be found in the specific dimension added by the class. In the animal periphery, a number of hunting articles, made of long strands and some akin terms are included:

o luvunyu, maggot; o luwe, hen roost; o luwumo, ringworm;
o lubende, pigmy field mouse; o lubobya, type of small
inedible termite; o lusanyi, black and white fowl;
o lukunyukunyu, lesser hornbill; lukennembi, large type
of ant; o lugunyu, large mongoose; o lugave, scaly ant-
eater; o luga, caul; o lubulugu, puppy; o luunya, kind of
fish; o lukonkonamuti, wood pecker.

o lubanda, breast of a horse; o luyonkante, bustard,
o lusooove, small black cormorant or darter; o lusinga,
hair of tail of elephant.

o luggingirima, horse's mane; o luwufa, trail of beasts;
o luwoonzi, comb of cock; o luwombo, bundle of meat;
o luwingi, barrier of traps for animals; o lutuula, net
for catching small animals; o lutente, basket like butter-
fly net for catching ssami; o luteete, large net for
catching lake fly; o lutayo, oblong trap for mmale fish;
o lusika, skewer of grasshoppers; o lulaanu, trail of a
slug.

9.7 ABSTRACTA

The group of abstracta is rather extensive. It is the opinion of Meinhof when speaking about Bantu languages in general, that in this class: "Aus der Zusammenfassende Bedeutung dieser Klasse, sich die Abstracte gebildet hat". (Meinhof 1906:16). In this class the individualizing, ('Vereinzelung' Meinhof calls it) is made manifest:

o lumbe, death; o lunderebu, stupidity; o lunkulu, boasting manner; o lwayo, clamour; o lwebeeya, multitude; o lwegeenya, great quantity; o lweje, abundance; o lwetumbo, presumption; o lwogo, uproar; o lubugumu, heat; o lwetatankirizo, inconsiderateness; o wano, sham friendship; o luyogo, din of applause; o luyombo, strife; o lusonso, spitefulness; o luso, odour of the body; o lusunsuntu, familiarity; o lutabaalo, campaign; o lutale, glistening; o luteerezo, slowness; o lutentezi, flatness; o lunso, long glance; o luwalo, public labour; o luwazo, hard exacting nature; o luwl, smack, slap; o luwugge, smell of new calabash; o luwujja, thirst, passion; o luyeeke, immensely long court case; o lube, cry of joy; o lubengo, great heat; o luboobooye, great length; o lusajja, virility; o lulere, indiscretion; o lumagga, interval; o lukusa, permission; o lukwa, trick; o lulanga, fame; o lukulukumbo, odour of sweat; o lukamu, improvement; o lukanda, ceremony at birth of twins; o lugulungujjo, unevenness; o lujeemojeemo, rumour; o lujoogo, defiance; o lukaayana, trouble; o lugenderezo, without ceasing;

o lugono, pugnacity; o lufunbanja, great debt; o lubugumu, heat; o lubwa, misfortune; o ludda, direction; o lunyiigo, complaint; o lusa, permission.

9.8 LAND

Terms regarding land and soil and especially the dry, dusty, and barren qualities of it, are mentioned. This points to a depreciation in comparison to the nouns enumerated in class II, where the emphasis lies on the fact of its usefulness in agriculture. Also the rain mentioned in this category seems to be considered of little practical value:

o lunnya, trench; o lwako, ravine; o lwaniko, airing ground; o lwereere, clearing; o lufufugge, dusty soil; o luggya, courtyard; o lukalu, dry land; o lunnyu, barren soil; o lukoola, desert; o lukulukumbi, ridge; o lukooto, incline of hill; o lukuusi, red earth; o lubiri, king's enclosure; o lubibiro, dam of earth; o luwompogoma, deep precipice; o luwangi, furrow; o luwangiwangi, border of cultivation; o luwajjangwa, oblong cavity; o luteega, popliteal space; o lutendera, rising ground; o luseta, grassy plain; o lusenyl, plain; o lubalama, shore; o lubandaasi, spread out village; o lume, mist; o lunywankoko, light shower of rain; o lukubakuba, drizzling rain; o luwandaggirize, drizzle; o lutonnyezi, shower of rain; o lusununu, trickles of rain down tatch.

9.9 UTENSILS

Analogous to the general idea of the class, expressing something which is long, thin or slender, a number of utensils have been grouped together in which this quality is somehow to be observed:

o luyulu, kind of rush used for ornamenting shields;
o lunnyo, stretcher; o luzzi, well; o luga, cane or stick;
o lugo, fence of pen; o lunyata, glowing embers; o lunyere,
wire; o lupanka, round piece of metal; o lupapula, long
piece of paper; o lunyago, shaft of spear; o ludangadi,
shallow trough; o lubyabya, basin out of shape;
o lubumbiro, potter's wheel; o lubugo, bark-cloth;
o lubugabuga, night jar; o lububi, cream scum; o lugali,
tray or flat basket for sifting corn; o lugaaga, bracelet
of copper wire; o lufuvu, sash of bark-cloth; o lufumbo,
vegetable silk; o lukaguzo, pipecleaner; o lujegere,
chain; o lugoye, cloth; o lukato, stiletto; o lukangaga,
frame on which bunches of sesame are dried; o lukampa,
stacking; o lukoba, belt; o lukoni, pipe-stem; o lukukku,
piece of firewood; o lukwansi, belt of beads; o lumaka,
rope stretched across river; o lulere, string of harp;
o lusekeso, tube; o lusekesa, long bundle of firewood;
o luseke, tube; o lusamba, iron ring; o lubobbo, a basket
from which the bottom has fallen out; o luwijja, anvil
of stone; o luwagaliro, whetstone; o luweera, garment of
dressed skins; o lutitti, thin long stick; o lutiba,
wooden bowl; o luti, peg; o lutambi, lamp wick; o lutafuka,
sausage shaped calabash; o lusolobyu, long shaft carrying
curved knife; o lusindirizo, ramrod; o lusinda, bead;
o lusunbo, peg or cord for hanging things out of reach

of rats; o lubanyi, scaffolding; o lubango, wood of spear
shaft; o lubale, fishing rod; o lubalaza, verandah;
o lubaawo, board; o lwebagyo, cash; o lubaku, coffee-
drying machine; o lwanbalizo, sling; o lwokyo, red-hot
iron; o lweyo, broom; o lwendo, ladle; o lwala, nail,

9.10 REST-GROUP

The rest-group is rather differentiated, although the character of the class is not altogether absent. The individualization as being 'one of more' is experienced in a number of terms.

o lukenge, royal talisman; o lujjuli, place where food is spread; o lukaaga, six hundred; o lukalabule, too much salt or sugar; o lugando, journey; o luggi, door; o luggyo, large piece of broken pot; o lugo, fence of cattle pen; o lugoba, forward line; o lufunjiro, fold in cloth; o lubungo, dung-hill; o lubungubungu, break of day; o lukoda, fold; o lukisa, talisman; o lukingirizi; edge, border; o lukindo, seam in cloth; o lukiiko, audience hall; o lunkoole, dotted; o lukono, lean on palm with an arm outstretched; o lukomera, fence; o lukoloddoli, long and thin; o lukunkumuli, cascade; o lukungu, collective gift of food made to the king; o lukumi, one thousand; o lukulo, scraping of hide in dressing; o lukukunzi, dust; o lukugiro, hem in garment; o lukyala, round of visits; o lulembe, edge of bark-cloth garment as cut for folding; o lusegere, very close to the side; o lusebenju, outside wall of house; o lusanvu, seven hundred; o lusambaggere, kick; o lubosi, precipitate at bottom of beer; o lubengo, lower grindstone; o luwunguko, anything cut short; o luwiira, grass fire; o luwasiwasi, a gigantic thing.

The seventh class, indicated by the prefix ka- for singular nouns and the prefix bu- for the plural, generally contains those nouns the meaning of which is expressed in a diminutive sense, especially in connection with the prefix ka-.

The class is typified by the fact that it contains a large number of nouns with the plural prefix bu- which yet express a singular concept. It appears that those nouns mainly indicate abstract qualities, which initially must have created an impression of plurality, and as such came to serve as plural to class VII.

10.1 PERSONS

The personal category of this class describes the human being in the state of growing up, persons with a very small stature or the figurative equivalents thereof. The periphery equally shows a tendency for small parts of the human body e.g. the tip of the finger, corpuscle etc. So the word Kabuto, meaning large intestine basically means small stomach, in relation to the whole of the digestive organs.

a kawere, infant, small baby; a kasumagizi, pigmy;
a kasimbaazi, name for a male child, slow in growth but well built and handsome; a kasolya, head of clan;
a kabirinage, small person with a neat figure; a kabirigi, very short person; a kaberegenya, young nipper; a kabbandu, mad-cap; a kaana, small child; a kambayaaya, a very impertinent child; a kakikobe, one who outstays his welcome; a kakonkomi, foetus in early months; a kakakajja, withered old person.

a katiiri, rectum; a kawondoliro, anus; a kasondamumiro, uvula; a kataago, spleen; a kasimu, nerve; a kanyinyiri, falsetto; a kabina, hollow of the back; a kabaatiro, perineum of male; a kabakko, cheek-bone; a kabebenu, cartilage; a kabubabuba, corpuscle; a kabubi, membrane; a kabuno, roof of mouth; a kabutobuto, large intestine; a kadondi, tip of finger; a kakongovvule, anklebone; a kamwa, mouth; a kalulwe, gall-bladder; a kalira, dried umbilical cord; a kalindaminyira, groove in centre of upper lip; a kalevu, chin; a kanyinyi, urethra; a kanenero, cheek-bone.

10.2 AILMENTS

Typical is the large number of ailments. The fact that they are situated in the diminutive category indicates that they are not considered to be very harmful. Some of the ailments mentioned are more observed in children than in grown-ups.

a kasanga, swelling of the neck; a kateetera, faint breathing; a katulututtu, pimple; a katuuka, swollen testicles; a katuulituuli, blister; a kawere, scabies; a kawulukutu, swelling in the ear; a kazimirizo, spasm of pain; a kassikonda, hiccups; a katakkuluze, frayed skin near the finger nail; a kasekere, sty in the eye; a kasamamyä, bloodlessness of the lips; a kafuuwuuku, breathlessness; a kakukufa, corn on toe; a kamiro, caking of breast in infant; a kanyata, tongue-tie in infants; a kanojje, pimple; a kandu, childish stomachache; a kabaata, syphilitic rash on nose; a kaberebenje, a syphilitic eruption; a kalogojja, delirium; a kafusa, tuberculosis; a kagere, menstruation; a kagonja, secretion of eyes; a kaddaliddali, tumor on finger; a kajongo, dried gum in the eye; a kakono, consumption; a kakololo, cough; a kalasira, very weak pulse.

10.3 PLANTS

In the agricultural part of this class a note of individualization is experienced, especially with regard to small detail or stature.

Often this is applied in the derived sense of the word:

a kagiri, kind of wild plant; a kafansonyi, sensitive plant; a kalo, small oar of millet; a kanyereketo, shrub (*Physalis*) The red and white seeds called nsiiti are favourite playthings for children; a kansambwe, fibre of pavonia species; a kakanso, small saxifragous shrub with edible berries whose twigs are used as toothbrushes (*Rhus incana*); a kakala, osier plant; a kajereje, small kind of bean; a kakonsokonso, tree with edible fruits; a kakongoliro, stalk of 'ntula'; a kalemanyovu, a small tree (*Gardenia thurnbergia*); a kalandalugo, creeping plant fond of old cattle kraals (hence the expression: ssewaali ente, olabira kalandalugo, where the cows have been you find K); a kakumirizi, plant used for making brooms; a kakuli, type of grass in Mawokota; a kadaali, asparagus fern; a kaboga, kind of fig tree (*Ficus congensis*); a kabira, thicket; a kabbula, water lily; a kabalira, tree used for making mortars in which flour is ground (*Ficus capensis*); a kasanso, top of a tree; a kasaana, thorny shrub the bark of which makes red dye; a kasigirirwa, very small seed; a katanga, climbing gourd plant; a kasuwe, type of lake plant having strong stems attached to bulbous roots; a kassukussuku, type of mushroom growing in plantain gardens; a kayuukiuyuuki, type of mint with flower like heliotrope; a kayindiyindi, small butterbean; a kaweke, small seed, a kawawa, type of

edible mushroom; a kawakatirwa, shoot on plant;
a kawakata, small sheaf; a kavunvu, variety of shrub
with long taproot making it difficult to uproot. Its
coarse leaves are made into a concoction and applied to
sores; a katuugo, fan shaped borassus palm; a katunkuma,
very bitter wild fruit; a katunku, edible red berry
fruit; a katungulu, union; a katundwe, edible flower of
gourd; a katiko, button mushroom; a kati, little tree;
a katengotengo, variety of plant with fruit like egg-
fruit; a kateketwe, foliation.

10.4 ANIMALS

The prefix ka- has originally had a comparative meaning in the sense of 'something like...' and came as such to be understood as a diminutive. (cf. Meinhof 1906:18). Also in Luganda this tendency is felt, especially in the category of animals. The meaning of smallness in size is obvious in many instances:

a kasalu, pratincole bird; a katugu, sand-fly; a katulume, banded mongoose; a kawuka, general term for creeping things, insects etc; a kawundo, insect eating bat; a kawuwo, tail of reptile; a kawuuzi, weevil which feeds on potatoes; a kayaawe, wild-cat; a kayamba, small fish in lake; a kayanzi, grasshopper said to be delicious to eat; a kayongo, sparrow; a kayozi, kangaroo; a kayuki, swarm of bees; a kazingirizi, kind of small gnat; a kataasa, small brown lake bird; a kataayi, swallow; a kaseese, fire-tailed finch; a kasekerezi, insect rather like blind ant; a kasennyanku, insect which makes a cocoon like a tiny bundle; a kasikisa, centipede; a kasimba, civet cat; a kasimbaazi, smallish brown bird; a kasisi, minutely small insect; a kasogobe, premature calf; a kasolo, domestic animal; a kasaalu, small lake bird; a kasagisagi, kind of small ant nesting in trees; a kasanke, tiny fire finch; a kamyu, hare; a kafubutusi, small water fowl; a kacaaka, small young locust; a kabalaga, striped grass rat; a kabu, tiny fly haunting ripe bananas; a kabowa, bat-eared fox; a kabulankoma, kind of insect; a kabulugu, puppy; a kabwa, small dog; a kaduli, fly used as bait; a kafubutusi, small black waterfowl; a kangali, weazel; a kagina, nit; a kagubi, quail; a kagugumusi, black capped

finch; a kakolwa, banded mongoose; a kalenga, tree frog;
a kalende, mud fish; a kalanga, small beetle-like insect;
a kalaalankoma, kind of insect; a kakulwe, tadpole,
a kakubampanga, kestrel, sparrow-hawk; a kamunyi, yellow
billed african kite; a kalussejera, young locust;
a kalumabalunda, type of small lizard-like venomous
reptile; a kaloolo, tiny fowl; a kalimirwa, kind of
monkey; a kaliga, small lamb; a kaanunansubi, sun-bird;
a kalerwe, small sea bird.

10.5 ORNAMENTS AND UTENSILS

The following items, used as small ornaments or as daily utensils, are typified by the prefix ka-. It may be noted that some of the objects in this category are made of iron and of relatively recent origin. The comparative meaning as indicated before, in the sense of 'something like....', is equally expressed. Especially mentioned are instruments for making music or instruments used in hunting, in which peculiar details are incorporated in the namegiving:

a kadoobe, small loin cloth; a kajumbi, kilt of bark-cloth worn by hunters; a kanyere, bracelet of twisted wire; a kaloosa, scent; a kalekeereke, perfume; a kakoba, small belt or strap; a kajegere, necklace; a kakansa, kind of bracelet; a kadangadi, iron necklet; a kawungu, earlet.

a kamwesio, razor; a kamwano, razor; a kagembe, small spear; a kagadi, bicycle; a kaala, small nail; a kabonge, spinning top; a kajugo, penholder; a kajagolo, small thin lance used by sorcerers; a kajegejege, cent; a kambe, knife; a kaliiso, plumb line; a kaasaale, arrow, a kaso, small knife.

a kadyeri, hammock; a kabiga, hole in the earth used as an oven; a katuntumu, bandage around the eyes; a kabooya, tuft of reeds; a kabwa, line of reeds at lower edge of the roof of a hut; a kakyu, chaff of floating malt; a kalagala, small leaf; a kaleebo, sap of fig tree which comes out through beating in making bark-cloth; a kadundu, plug of tobacco; a kagoogwa, sisal fibre; a kagoye, thread;

a kakudo, roll of palm leaf fibre; a kangodera, folding screen; a kabendobendo, roll of reeds under the edge of a roof; a kalo, grain of millet; a kayungo, stilt; a kawulira, charm, antidote for snake-poison.

a kalere, string of drum; a kalere, small flute; a kajjejjerebu, dancing doll; a kadingidi, one-stringed fiddle; a kakunizo, snare; a kakunku, snare; a kamasu, rat-trap; a kabigo, fish-trap of reeds; a kasambajja, bell-shaped fish trap; a kasereekerero, small basket-like trap for catching fish; a kasumbyo, conical fish-trap; a katiribiri, mandoline; a katimba, mosquito net.

10.6 MINUTE THINGS

The next category contains a number of especially small or minute things. It looks like the kernel of the whole class, around which the other groups are centered. Also very high and uncountable numbers are situated here, perhaps because they consist out of an immense amount of small units:

a kakerenda, pill; a kalegete, very small packet tightly tied; a kakunkumuka, crumb; a kakomwakomwa, crumb; a kanya, spot; a kanyikuuli, trifle; a kamogo, spot, blemish; a kabalabala, little spot; a kacweka, small part; a kafu, small insufficient helping; a kakerege, a trifle; a kasale, stroke, dash; a kasirikitu, minute insignificant thing; a kasennyente, crumb of tobacco; a kayunyo, thin band; a kawayi, scrap; a katoloboze, speck;

a kawumbi, ten million; a katabalika, ten million or more; a kasanvu, seven thousand; a kasiriivu, one hundred thousand; a katabalika, countless number; a kakumi, ten thousand; a kanaana, eight thousand; a kakaaga, six thousand; a kakadde, a million.

10.7 ABSTRACTA

Also in the diminutive part of the nominal system, a number of abstract terms are situated:

a kaboyi, giddiness; a keetawulo, excitement; a kabbalibbali, mad-cap nature; a keewaniko, pride; a kabba, ill-nature; a kabango, madness; a kagabangu, folly; a kakukuuzi, grief; a kakule, burst of laughter; a kakali, burst of laughter; a kamagu, madness; a kamaaumaau, restlessness; a kalumira, ill-feeling.

a katomyo, good aim; a kavvunkano, confusion; a kawamba, enticement; a kawoowa, nice smell; a kawubyo, cheating; a kayifuyifu, rancour; a kayiiyi, rancour; a kasunguyira, quick temper; a kasuususu, warmth; a kaseera, short time; a kasera, trial, proof; a kasiriikiriro, interval of silence; a kanyonyoogano, debate; a kabanika, protuberance; a kalibbaba, durability; a kamalizo, finality; a kanyiku, poverty; a kabi, harm, danger; a kabonero, sign; a kacapalo, licence; a keedimo, strike from work; a kabatanya, cause of dissension; a kabenje, misfortune; a kacca, importunity; a kamyozo, hurt; a kadde, time; a kafukunga, abundance; a kadubudubu, rancour; a kafubo, privacy; a kakyoy, time; a kalebule, libel; a kakodyo, mean trick; a kajajja, insolence; a kajiiruri, vicelike painful grip; a kakalu, pledge; a kakanda, a rite performed at the birth of twins; a kakenyera, defect, blemish.

10.8 REST-GROUP

The rest-group contains a number of nouns conveying the idea of smallness in relation to the part to which they belong:

a kasekeso, small orifice; a kasenso, hangings from bows for protecting the prow of a canoe; a kasirikko, rut in the road; a kasirinza, cinder; a kamyiriri, versicle; a kasambula, season when fallowed land is prepared; a kasana, spring morning sunshine; a kannunnansowera, small round wound made in animal; a kamoome, type of termite hill; a kalenge, hem of garment; a kabbiro, second totem of clan; a kanyigano, press; a kalumba, stern thwart; a kalondwalondwa, debris; a kalulu, draw lots; a kagobe, point gained in game; a kalenge, morning mist; a katale, market; a kaswanyu, small whip; a kasunsu, tuft of hair left unshaven on top of head; a kasunduba, wrinkle; a kasongezo, hem of clothing; a kalikonda, corner of a room; a kanyomero, corner; a kasolya, roof of a house; a kasiisira, small hut; a kasendwe, short post supporting the roof of a hut; a kasegunsi, place immediately behind the door in a kiganda hut; a katente, ridge of earth before the door of a hut; a kayu, small hut; a kayisanyo, crossing each other; a kayaaye, partition in porch of a hut; a kawazo-maziga, cooling of the fire-stones; a kawatwa, indentation.

10.9 PLURAL CATEGORIES ONLY

This category consists of nouns in bu-, plural in form but in meaning singular. They are mostly names of abstract qualities. The reason for its classification as a plural has probably been the fact that an abstract idea can only be obtained by comparing a number of concrete objects which share in this abstract quality.

Hence the plural form.¹ Also classified in this section are the negative infinitives of verbs used as substantives. They are formed by the infix ta- in combination with the prefix of this class, e.g. obutamanya i.e. ignorance, from the verb okumanya i.e. to know.

1) cf. G.L. Pilkinton B.A. A Handbook of Luganda.
Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. London 1901.

10.9.a PARTS OF THE BODY

The human periphery seems to support this plurality in a number of instances:

o bwanga, forehead; o butuuli, buttocks; o busomyo, marrow of bones; o busimu, nerves; o busajja, male generative organs; o bulago, neck; o bwoya, hair on body; o bwongo, brain; o bwesinge, scalp; o bwetikkiri, crown of head; o bwenyi, forehead.

10.9.b AILMENTS

Also a list of afflictions, usually considered to be of small inconvenience, is included. Again, in some instances, the relation to children is mentioned:

o buwere, scabies; o butuulituuli, rash; o butulututtu, a rash of pimples; o butagali, bandy legs; o busukuttu, congenital enlargement of the cheeks; o busonko, infantile anaemia; o bumwamwa, disease of lips; o bulega, overdue pregnancy; o bulangula, falling out of eyelashes; o bujonjo, gum of eye stuck to the lashes; o bugergere, footrot; o bubalagaze, sudden tingling pain; o bwosi, the child suffers from premature weaning.

10.9.c ANIMALS

Insects and small animals or things related to them are to be found in the plural category:

o busowe, eggs of locusts; o buswiriri, whiskers of cat;
o bwecaaka, tiny grasshoppers; o buggalamatu, small
edible termites; o bugirigimba, dorsal fin; o buloolo,
fowl fleas; o bumpowooko, small inedible termites.

10.9.d ABSTRACTA

o bugulumivu, height; o bugolokofu, straightness;
o bugole, wedding; o bugimu, fertility; o buggya,
newness; o bugevvu, plumpness; o bugazi, width;
o bugwagwa, foulness; o bujjajja, ancestry; o bukaali,
anger, fury; o bukaba, depravity; o bukadde, old age;
o bukabakaba, cleverness; o bukamba, bitterness;
o bukambwe, fierceness; o bukiika, direction; o bukovvu,
leanness; o bukoowu, fatigue; o bukoda, meanness;
o bukristaayo, christianity; o bukula, greatness;
o bulaba, enmity; o bukyayi, hatred; o bukyamu, heresy;
o bukuntu, arrogance; o bukuusa, deceit; o bukumu,
abundance; o bulaberezi, office of bishop; o bulalu,
madness; o bulamu, life; o bulenzi, male sex; o bulemu,
trouble; o bulema, crippled state; o bulæga, front;
o bulebevu, slackness; o bulimba, falsehood; o buliika,
exorbitant interest; o bulogo, witchcraft; o bulombolombo,
tradition; o bulokozi, salvation; o bulogovvu, daftness;
o bulwa, fight; o bulungi, beauty; o bulumiriza,
conviction; o bulumi, pain; o bunnabi, prophecy;
o bunaanya, idleness; o bulyake, extortion; o bulwadde,
sickness; o bunyaga, state of extreme dirtiness; o buntu,
being; o bunyiiguluzi, satisfaction; o bunyikivu,
perseverance; o busagwa, poison; o busaamu, beauty;
o busammambiro, summit; o busenza, service; o buseezi,
over charging; o buseerezi, slipperiness; o busawo,
medical profession; o busanjälaze, numbness; o busika,
inheritance; o busezi, witchcraft; o busirusiru, folly;
o buswavu, shame; o busunbuzi, trade; o busungu, bad
temper; o bussi, murder; o buswege, misery; o butalimu,

nonsense; o butamlivu, drunkenness; o butamaavu, ferocity;
o butitimbe, abundance; o butiti, cold; o buti, fear;
o butengu, obstinacy; o butangaavu, transparency;
o butamittami, distraction; o buto, childhood; o butunga,
ability to delegate; o butumi, power of sending on
mission; o butume, mission on which one is sent;
o butonde, nature; o buvume, fracture; o buvubuka, youth;
o buvumi, insulting behaviour; o buwangaazi, permanence;
o buvunaamwa, duress; o buvumu, boldness; o buwangwa,
inherent nature; o buwanvu, length; o buwaze, force;
o buwemu, shame; o buwombeefu, humility; o buyinza, power;
o buyinike, grief; o buyingirwa, compulsion; o buwuulu,
state of being a bachelor; o buyonjo, neatness;
o buzaaliranwa, birth; o buzibu, difficulty; o buzira,
bravery; o bwakabaka, kingdom; o bwakatonda, divinity.

11. A SURVEY OF THE REMAINING CLASSES

11.1 The remaining classes in Luganda are mentioned here collectively. First of all the eight class, with the singular prefix *tu-*, and no plural. It contains the word *tulo* - sleep only and diminutives of quantity such as:

tunyu (*munyu*) a pinch of salt; *tuzi* (*amazzi*) a little water; *tuku* (*nku*) a scrap of firewood; *twenge* (*omwenge*) a drop of beer; *tuzigo* (*nzigo*) a little butter.

11.2 The ninth class is recognized by the singular prefix *gu-* and the plural prefix *ga-*. The class contains augmentative only, which express at the same time contempt or ridicule.

Guntu, giant; *gutoke*, a great big plantain; *gubuzi*, a huge goat; *guswa*, a great anthill.

11.3 The tenth class contains the single word '*wantu*', place. The word is rather obsolete except for the expression '*buli wantu wonna*' i.e. everywhere, and for its influence on the language where many adjectives, pronouns, verbs and adverbs are formed with the prefix *wa-*, referring to this word.

e.g. *Wano walungi*, *Waliwo muntu*, *Vawo*.

11.4 The eleventh class contains all infinitives of verbs used as substantives. There is no plural in this class and the singular is formed by the prefix *ku-* or *kw-*.

Kwagalana, brotherly love; kugenda, departure, kufa, death. The use of verbs as substantives is very common in Luganda, which is very rich in verbs and comparatively small in proper nouns.

12. PLANTAIN CULTIVATION¹

The present chapter is intended as an illustration of the way a particular concept, which in the western world generally represents a single phenomenon, is expressed in the Lugandan nominal classification. It will also be indicated how a cultural interpretation of this item is expressed in the various classes.²

The item to be scrutinized is the plantain (*Musa sapientum*), a tree-like, tropical herbaceous plant, which is allied to the banana (*Musa Troglodytarum*). The plantain is propagated by means of its shoots, which develop on the old growth, unlike the wild african banana (*Musa Ensete*), which multiplies by means of its seeds. In Kiganda society the plantain is reputed to be very old and one of the most characteristic of staple foods.³ Since Buganda is ideally situated on the shores of one

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- 1) Cultivation to be considered as a habit of intentionally growing plants, which may be considered as an important commodity, that is as something essential rather than simply desirable.
 - 2) "The basis for this thesis is the convention of the society, which decrees what is food and what is not food and what kind of food shall be eaten on what occasions".
(cf. Den Hartog and de Vos 1973).
 - 3) "According to Davidson the plant was introduced into Buganda some 2000 years ago probably from south-east Asia (Davidson 1971:31) whilst Forde suggests the Arab trade down the east-african coast as the likely carriers of the cultivated banana". (Forde 1971:417).

of the largest inland lakes in Africa, blessed with fertile soil, adequate rainfall and sunshine, suitable conditions for the development of the plant are present. It has been suggested that the plantain and its many practical purposes, may have been a reason why in the past people have been attracted to this region, thus providing a possible explanation of why the region became gradually populated by people of the same ethnic and linguistic stock.⁴ More plausible, however, is the assumption that the population began to increase the potential of the plantain plant when they became too numerous to provide in their subsistence by traditional means or as a response to market development.⁵ Many authors have pointed to population increase as a cause for the intensification of agricultural methods⁶ and indicated a correlation between agriculture and the complexity of social organization.⁷ People, when faced with situations related to subsistence or other necessities of life, usually design means to meet these situations. As such plantains came to be developed within the range of the available potential of the environment. Then in the course of time new meanings came

4) Davidson 1971:32.

5) cf. Allan 1965, Netting 1968.

6) Canairo 1961, 1970. Boserup 1965. Harner 1970. Smith and Young 1972. Cohen 1975.

7) Naroll 1956. Canairo 1967. Stevenson 1968.

about, which were perpetuated in a corresponding expansion of the vocabulary. Thus the environment responds to human needs, although the way in which it does so, is affected by the members of the society, who are in a constant process of change in providing for themselves matter, material products, energy and information. The environment so becomes a critical and determining factor in cultural achievements. The human being, originally interested only in that which proved to be useful at the moment, has more and more come to realise the necessity to provide for the future.

In this light the plantain provides an important contribution to the maintenance of a regular and dependable food supply thus creating an improvement on the conditions of life.

As mentioned in the class of trees there are many semi-evergreens semi-deciduous or deciduous trees in Buganda, probably as a result of the climatic conditions, which are periodically humid and as such reputed to be a regular cause for seasonal growth.

Plantains fit easily into this evolving pattern. Its

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- 8) Activities such as building, carpentry, hunting, the making of bark-cloth, ironwork and the sophisticated arts of warfare and politics.

In 1844 Turgot wrote that: "The earth was able to sustain many more men than were required to till it. Hence to a greater extent than among pastoral peoples, men were free for other work.....a greater ability in war; the division of labour, the inequality of men, domestic slavery and precise ideas of government". (Turgot 1844:631).

fruit matures in approximately nine months and during that period it requires little human attention. It makes an almost direct use of the available conditions and hardly requires any labour or expenditure on improvement, such as pruning, whilst at the same time a comparatively high yield is produced. As a result food production was for the greater part left in the hands of women, allowing the men to direct their undivided attention to other activities for which the Baganda acquired such a fame in the course of time.⁸

In nearly all the nominal classes concepts relevant to plantain cultivation have been included. All the various types are recognized in detail by most members of the society and are as such mentioned by a different term making a would-be common term, covering the whole range of variations, practically irrelevant.

In order to discover why the plantain is differentiated into such a number of different levels it may be observed that the more communication about a particular phenomenon is required in a society, the greater the contrasts are in which that phenomenon is categorized.

Plantains enter into a great variety of social contexts apart from its essential quality regarding nutrition. As a result of favourable physical conditions, the plantain has come to contribute to economic prospects and stability. These prospects at the same time transmute resources into particular values and thus become the foundation of particular forms of social structure.

For example, plantains, their products and quality may influence brideprice calculations. Plantains not only

largely govern the nutrition of man, but also contribute material for the construction of houses, the binding of fences and walls and the plaiting of mats. They may be used as material to sleep on or to dress a wound. Kilts can be made out of it for dancers, wrestlers and fishermen, or it can be used as a padding for the head to carry loads. It equally serves for the tying up of parcels or for that matter to arrest prisoners if nothing else is available.

The tree itself is chopped up as cattle food and its long bark, when stripped, may be used as a gutter to direct rainwater. Young plantain trees planted along the wayside are considered as a token of honour and respect due to an important visitor or an important occasion.

The leaves are especially useful for covering the cooking-pot when preparing plantain food. They can also be used as a protection against sun or rain. In short there are as many purposes as a practical mind can think of, so that a great part of the physical and material well-being may depend on this phenomenon. In a way the entire eco-system has come to settle around the cultivation of the plantain. The plantain can also have a ritual function as for example at the birth of twins, when a ritual stealing of bananas has to be performed and the father of the newly-borns is bound to eat unmashed plantains for a whole month after the birth, thus ensuring the benevolence of the Gods. Withered plantain leaves are used as a symbol of death, especially after the death of twins, when the leaves are hung over the door of the house as a token of mourning. In the same sense it is believed that when the bloom of

the young plantain stem is rubbed on the spot where the tree has been cut, the continuous life of the plantain tree is ensured or that a disease may be thrown off by passing through a cleft plantain-stem.

12.1 CLASS I

Considering the category of plants in the nominal system, which are situated in class I, it may be observed that only a comparatively small number of specific plants are mentioned. Mainly vegetables and plants used as medicine are enumerated and trees are not mentioned at all.

The category of plantains, however, is an exception in this situation and from the following categorization it becomes clear that nearly all the various specimen of the plantain, in as far as they are common knowledge in this society, are situated in class I, although one would be inclined to look for them in class II, where the impact of the agricultural world is fully developed. This exception to a logical situation supports the special position of the plantain in Kiganda society, a position closely connected to the function of the plant and consequently to the importance and value attached to it by the Baganda. Especially mentioned in class I are the specimens which are very large and of a very tasty quality. Also specific characteristics are indicated, such as a good quality of beer which can be made of it or other ascribed functional qualities. Some terms regarding plantain gardens are mentioned, but in such a way that the emphasis lies on the fact of the extensiveness of the garden.

The only direct indication of the characteristic human feature of this class is expressed in the word nnalyambe i.e. a woman who is prodigal in the use of her plantains.

ndizabawuulu, a very large kind of plantain; muvubu, the longest type of ttooke plantains, like the large Kafunze; mwanakuffe, a large type of ttooke plantain growing in the mbwa-fly areas of Kyaggwe; muliibwampogola, a type of plantain with such small fruits that they are cooked unpeeled and peeled at the moment of eating; mukubyakkonde, a type of plantain with small bananas like a fist; majjagga, a long kind of gonja plantain, not fat like manjaaya; manjaaya, biggest kind of roasting plantain; kakira, a type of boiling banana like nsakala and of the muvubu or very large type; kafuba, large type of boiling plantain; kibuzi, type of plantain with very large bunches of closely packed food with blunt ends and very straight growing; kisansa, large type of boiling banana like muvubu; lusamba, type of large boiling banana; nnalubi, type of boiling plantain; nnakyetengo, type of plantain, very short tree, large bunches with many plantains; nnakitembe, type of plantain with long fruit; nnakinsoola, reddish type of plantain with large bunches and many fruits; nnakinsira, reddish type of plantain with large bunches and long fruit; nnakinnyika, commonest type of plantain in Buddu, they can have four, five or six bunches on the stem and are very tasty; nnakibule, large type of boiling plantain; muwere, type of boiling plantain of a large kind; nnakattanseeese, commonest type of gonja plantain; ssalalugazi, type of ttooke growing in large bunches of flat ended fruit, with broad and short leaves; lugugira, type of boiling banana; simbalukono, type of banana; nnakasabira, type of large plantain said to be common in Teso; nnakanyala, type of plantain; nnakamaali,

type of both gonja and ttooke plantain rather like lujugira; nnakabululu, type of plantain common in Buddu, very quick growing with good tasty pulp; nnambi, type of boiling plantain like the kabula beer-making plantain; nnakabinyi, type of large boiling banana; nnabusa, type of curved fattish plantain; nnamunyu, large type of plantain; nnasalugiri, type of boiling plantain; nnandigobe, type of plantain with small fruit rather like majaga in appearance, but very tasty; nnamwezi, type of plantain tree with yellowish colour. It grows well and is not eaten by insects; nsakala, muvubu type of plantain common in Buddu; nvamumba, species of plantain, lit. get out of my way, on account of its size; ssiira, large boiling banana, also: excess; kigerekyanvubu, boiling banana which resembles nnakitembe; malaaya, banana on Entebbe peninsula. Lit: harlot; bbuzidume, type of boiling banana. Lit: billy goat on account of its large size; bbogoya, type of eating banana; kafunze, type of banana with very heavy closely packed fruit; ggalambe, type of large gonja banana; nnalugolima, type of boiling plantain.

The following group stands out for the specific quality in the making of beer:

mmamba, kind of gonja plantain growing spirally in the bunch. The fruit is hard and is especially suitable for making beer; mmongoota, type of beer making banana; malindi, type of beer banana; katwalo, type of beer making banana having a very large bunch, it is also a type of roasting gonja banana; kivuvu, type of beer banana, common

in Kyaggwe, from vvu, owing to the greyish colour of the fruit; kisubi, beer making banana; lujjukira, large type of beer banana; nnalwessanya, type of mbidde or beer making banana; nsowe, best type of mbidde male beer making plantain; nnumba, type of mbidde beer banana; mufuka, type of banana used for making beer; ssindika, beer making banana; sitakange, beer banana.

Some plantains with remarkable and very special features:

lwewunzika, type of plantain which leans over and look likely to fall; nnabansassaana, twin banana in one skin; ffampewo, big fruit at the extreme end of the first bunch of a gonja cluster; nnakayanga, bark of banana tree very black with purplish shade much valued for tying up of parcels; nnamukota, very large bunch of plantains; mutere, dried bananas chopped small, which are regarded as food in famine time; nnakitembe, type of plantain with long fruit, the petals of the flowers wither but remain on the fruit; ndizabawuulu, type of plantain whose units grow so closely together that they are difficult for an unskilled bachelor or grass-widower to break off, hence they bemoan the fact that they have no wife to do the work for them; nnamirembe, plant up to 2 ft. growing in plantain gardens with clusters of mauve bell-shaped flowers.

Some terms regarding the plantain gardens and some animals causing harm or danger:

nnakitokolo, extensive plantain garden; nnamulanda, vast plantain garden; ttolo, vast plantain garden; mulya, grey

plantain eater; nnamunkoko, bird like a plantain eater;
nnawandagala, small green snake found in plantain
gardens.

12.2 CLASS II

It is remarkable that in a class where the general topic concerns mainly vegetation, only a few terms are mentioned with regard to plantain cultivation and no specific names for the plantain are to be found at all. The terms are mainly concerned with the development of the plant and the first signs of new life. The plants are considered not ready for use yet and consequently the relation to the personal world is only vaguely experienced. These aspects of the plantains, its stage of development, are described in conformity with the tendency of class II. Valuation finds its roots in the function of the various specimen or in the product they eventually yield. The individual characteristics are as it were part of the outside world, outside the personal sphere and considered to be important but not essential:

mubumbo, young banana leaf not yet unrolled; mugonnoonyo, mid-rib of plantain leaf or a young leaf before it unfolds; muvuuma, bunch of plantains not fully grown; newly formed bunch of plantains; munyaala, first bananas of a young plant; mugondooli, sling made out of plantain fibre on which the food rests when steaming inside the pot and which is used to withdraw the packet of food when cooked; mugaaga, bandage of plantain bark round forehead, supposed to cure headache; mutikko, piece of plantain bark for tying parcels; mulindi, band of plantain bark tied round the forehead of a dead person; mututumba, white pith of plantain stem; mwetango, wild plant used by women to clean their hands after peeling plantains; muteteme, plantain stems cut up and laid on the ground; pulp of cooked plantain;

munyu, salt extracted from plantain peelings; mwenge,
native beer made of banana juice fermented with millet;
mubisi, sweet banana juice.

12.3 CLASS III

Class III of the nominal system is concerned with a plurality of animate objects. The result is a less detailed and less individualized description of the items. This finds concretization in the description of seeds and fruits. As far as the plantains are concerned this "Zusammenfassende Bedeutung" as Meinhof (1906:16) calls it, is also expressed in the idea of growth or new life of the plants and not in details about the plant itself. Only a few names for bananas are mentioned which are mainly concerned with the making of beer. A general idea about eating or drinking or daily usage of the plant is expressed. The animal category is represented in two instances only and the same attains to the plural category.

nkolo, stump of banana tree; nsukusa, young plantain ready for transplantation; ndoko, shoot ready for transplantation; ndu, young plantain in shoot; nno, banana bud; mpumbu, bloom on the stem of a plantain; ndiizi, small yellow type of banana, the so-called lady's fingers. ngwira, bunch of bananas brought down by a storm; nkota, a bunch of bananas; mmere, food, especially cooked mashed plantains; ddigobe, ttooke cooked to a turn; ntemera, felled plantain tree when there are no bearing trees in the lusuku; njolo, type of beer making banana; mbidde, male banana for making beer; mmende, type of beer making banana in Bulemeesi; njoye, type of ttooke plantain with very large bunches; nkago, ttooke or female plantain; ndiga balangira, kind of banana; mpogola, plantain boiled in the skin; ntikka, type of plantain with very large bunches; mpaguka, portion of kiwagu, small bunch of plantains broken

off the stem; nnoga, mouthfull of plantain rolled into a ball; nkata, pad for the head; nkondwe, decayed pith of plantain; njawo, native umbrella; mpina, banana leaf placed in a calabash of beer to prevent the beer from slopping down the neck; mpu, stout package done up in plantain bark; ndyamenvu, golden floral beetle with feeds on ripe bananas; nkeretanyi, small edible animal very fond of eating bananas; njaliro, banana leaves as lining for basket of peelings; ndagala, medicine of plantains.

12.4 CLASS IV

In the class of inanimate objects, expressing the 'modus quo', a number of functions of the plantain are described. The general feature of this category is indicated by the word Kikoota i.e. a short thick bunch of plantains, emphasizing in this way the augmentative character of the class and at the same time indicating that it is something good for its size.

Customs and ways of life, indicated by the use made of the plantain, are situated here, whilst no special mention is made of the species as such. The word kittooke, by virtue of its prefix ki-, implies all sorts of plantain trees, the products of which are used for cooking or beer making, without any further specification. The plural ma-ttooke, generally indicates the fruits of the trees.

Kittooke, banana tree; kittooke-kizungu, a type of banana tree producing almost grey-blue fruit with a greyish bloom; kiteteme, the root of a plantain; kitembe, type of wild plantain; bigomba, dried plantains when cooked; kiwagu, small bunch of bananas; kiyondo, type of plant growing in poor soil, the leaves of which are used for washing hands free of sap after peeling plantains; kidoodo, bunch of plantains; kikolokomba, stem of bunch of plantain; kiteekerero, chump of plantain; kigaaga, boiled plantain flattened out; kiwaata, banana peeling; kisanja, withered leaves of plantains; kireka, banana leaf turning yellow; kigomba, dried plantain; kinyinyinsi, scrapings of pith of plantain tree used as a sponge; kisuumwa, piece of plantain stem used as a

sponge; kigogo, fresh plantain fibre used as a sponge; kiteerera, a hole dug at the foot of a plantain where the faeces of a baby were thrown; kisinja, half of a bunch of bananas broken off; kikamulo, grass left over from pressing banana beer; kisanja, bunches of plantain leaves carried as a protection against dew when passing through long grass; kisanja, pillow, bolster made of withered leaves of the plantain; kyayi, dried plantain fibre used as a rope; kitengu, leaves used as a table cloth; kipaapi, strip of cloth of plantain bark used in early stage of roof building; kiwombo, plume of banana leaves for ornamenting beer gourds of important people; kisanja, load of smoked fish enclosed in withered plantain leaves; kisanja, hut thatched with withered plantain leaves; kibanyi, netting or rack generally above the hearth on which bananas are left.

12.5 CLASS V

Also the present category contains no specific plantain names at all. It is characterized by general and global features indicating the idea of collectivity. The items mentioned are also classified in the same way as abstract substances like water, milk, fat, oil etc. The singular prefix li- has been replaced by a double consonant and the emphasis appears to be on a multitude of items experienced as one.

ryenvu, ripe sweet bananas; ssogolero, place for crushing bananas; ssanja, withered plantain leaves; ttembe, fruit of wild plantain; ttooke, bunch of plantains.

12.6 CLASS VI

The present plantain group shows all the typical aspects of the class, either drawing the attention to the long and narrow shape of the plantain itself, e.g. lukota, a long poor bunch of bananas, or the shape of the articles made from it such as e.g. a string of banana leaves to go round the waist.

Again it is to be observed that no plantain names as such are mentioned.

lusuku, plantain garden; lukiina, type of heavily producing plantain; lubabi, young leaf of plantain; luwina, fringe of banana leaf, girdle; luwagala, bunch of bananas split down the middle; lulata, well cooked mash of plantains; lulagala, plantain leaf; lukunya, plantain tree stripped and ruined by children; lusoggo, plantain leaf twisted into sugar-loaf bag used as a rat-trap; lutigitigi, long stalk of banana flower; lutakka, long shaped load of fish or dried plantains; lugogo, plantain fibre while on tree; luyina, string of banana leaves to go round the waist; lutyatya, trench for crushing bananas for beer; lutembe, necklace made of wild banana seeds; luleeba, bath made of plantain leaves put in a hole in the ground.

12.7 CLASS VII

In class VII the group of plantains is represented either by nouns giving details about the preparation of food or indicate the relative inadequateness of the plant itself. The plural category shows a clear depreciation in the use of its terms.

kawujjo, small scoop made of leaf used for eating;
kasikwasikwa, degenerate shoot of plantain; katogo, stew of plantains and beans; kanyaala, immature banana; kabula, a kind of banana; kabezo, leaf used as a scoop for apportioning food; kajemga, native umbrella made of outer skin of tree trunk of banana; kansubi, bottom row of stem of bananas; kanuunu, tiny flower of embryo plantain; kawuuwo, plantain leaf used by wives for covering in pot when cooking matooke; kakonero, small stone on which the heart of the banana tree is beaten into a bathing sponge; busera, porridge of banana meal; bukundugulu, splashes from beating fresh plantain fibre; bukundukundu, bits of banana in strained juice; busanjasanja, mushrooms which grow on withered plantain; busukusuku, mushrooms which grow on peelings in lusuku; bwavu, poverty i.e. a bald head caused by carrying loads of bananas.

Anthropology as a science which studies man and his creations, involves language at all stages. In the words of Wittgenstein (1953:23) it covers "complexes of thought, language and action in a shared cultural context". The cultural context then, as shared by a group of people, is carried by mutual intelligibility supported by language. The complicated system, called human culture, is so rendered possible as a system of interpersonal organization. (cf. von Raffler-Engel 1975:355). In it the interdependence of human beings is manifested, in which language basically serves as an agreement between sound and meaning. This agreement is encoded in a word-stock, a basic vocabulary and a grammatical structure, in which differences of meaning or function must be accounted for by semantic or functional changes.

The charter for this study has been to explore the relation between a language and a culture, inspired by the fact that ways of human life are so closely intertwined

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- 1) G.B. Vico (1668-1744) an Italian historian and philosopher, reputed amongst others, to be the founder of Ethnopsychology, writes in 'Cinque libri de' principi di una scienze nuova, 1744, (transl. 1968: The new science concerning the common nature of nations. Cornell University Press. Ithaca) that only can be understood by man which is made by him (verum-factum). He also stresses the fact that understanding culture is like understanding language, because human ways of life are embedded in human ways of speaking. (cf. Crick 1976:9).

with ways of speaking, that understanding a language becomes like understanding a culture, however inadequate an equation may be in which language is but an element and grasping the whole of a culture a phantom.¹

However. Sapir (1949:160-6) in this connection speaks of language as 'a selected inventory of experience' thus supporting the fact that language, however reliable, is by no means a complete inventory.

Both concepts, language and culture, represent aspects of learned behaviour, and as such they are interrelated, the distinction expressing itself in the 'psychological and sociological makeup' of man and his behaviour. (von Raffler-Engel 1975:355).

Since language serves as a means for the expression of conceptual thought, it seems logical to accept Müller's statement that language as an organization is essentially conceptual and only secondly a means of communication.²

Anthropology is equally concerned with the ways in which members of a culture attribute value and meaning to their world of existence. It concerns itself with the understanding of 'speech acts of values' and 'habits of cultural perception'. (Haydu 1979:16). Both concepts,

2) Müller F.M. 1878. On the Origin of Reason. Contemporary Review 31. 465-493.

3) "Thus a speech community is defined, not by the presence or absence of a particular dialect or language but by the presence of a common set of normative values in regard to linguistic features". (Gumpertz and Hymes 1972:513).

essentially inseparable, are illustrated by the system of the lugandan nominal classification. To treat these linguistic and cultural phenomena in isolation is like playing notes without the laws of harmony. Language in this sense is directly associated with the political, economic, social, cultural and religious situation. In this way living people are studied, who are aware of their living and talk about it, who verbalize cultural dispositions on the basis of a common logic and valuation.³

These cultural dispositions are partly expressed in categories of the nominal system, in the sense that category assignment indicates a kind of meaning and not exactly what it is. So the categorial structure has an envisaged semantic structure behind it. The nouns mentioned in the system not only attribute a name, but at the same time express a possible action. (cf. Sinclair 1969:326).

The nominal classification thus becomes an instrument in gaining knowledge by understanding how experience is categorized and shared by members of that community. It is a framework in which part of the language habits and variations, as the outcome of social experiences, are

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- 4) Here is meant the so-called cultural competence i.e. anything that enables the participants to work and live together.

'The dynamics of competence involve those encoded semiotic structures which grant integration among members in their beings, in transacting of the business of life and in common action'. (Haydu 1979:126).

coded in a specific cultural, linguistic style. The various categories thus function as frames of reference, establishing order between complexes of objects and events, and order in the thought processes of the individual. Thus the system provides a 'conceptual specificity of experience forms' (Haydu 1979:129), as valid in this culture and keeps at the same time the social world functioning and lasting.⁴

The system so has a direct bearing on our knowledge, or lack of it, in man's beliefs and values as products of a different cultural system. It has a direct bearing in as far as it provides an 'exploration indicating with concrete examples the sort of insights one may derive from close attention to language'. (Crick 1976:10). It presents the nominal classes as being semantically based. This study tends to exemplify rather than to explain, by considering the language of man in as far as he is the producer of meaning.⁵ It has no pretention of knowing his language like himself or knowing the whole of his culture.

The problem of the semantic content of the nominal classes has long since drawn the attention of anthropologists and linguists. A cause of dissention are the

5) Crick has described this approach as follows: "It is an anthropology rooted in the conception of human beings as meaning-makers. Thus our newer style of anthropology is not a development of the old - not a new dialect of an old language - but represents a break which requires semantic anthropology to grow in a new epistemological space....semantic powers make human beings members of a self-defining species.....". (1976:3).

criteria which are used for this classification. The point is that one cannot know in advance the basis for this classification, but only discover it a posteriori by means of an analysis of the meaning content of the nominal classes, irrespective of how much the various prefixes appear to be the true basis. One might maintain that there is a finite number of basic categories, indicated by the prefixes, and an infinite number of derived categories, in which the indices specify the category that one has in mind. Thus the meaning and 'the fashion of expressing it peculiar to a people, like other aspects of their culture, define the nature of the universe and man's position within it'. (Hoyer 1962:12).

It seems rather unrealistic to consider the nominal system as a 'mosaic of rigidly structured fields' since the same system often indicates the opposite and illustrates that it is in no way exhaustive. As illustrated in many instances the nouns in the various domains assume one common basic feature which makes them members of the set and at the same time distinguishes them from all the others.⁶ Thus through the classificatory system a range of cultural predicates are attributed in the various classes and categories. Culture then may be

6) "It seems highly unrealistic to regard the whole of a vocabulary as a mosaic of tightly structured fields, which is an important reservation when some anthropologists have spoken of regarding the whole lexicon from a structural point of view". (Lounsbury 1968:224). "Native taxonomies are neither exhaustive nor strictly hierarchical". (Conclin 1962:423).

regarded as including these classes and categories, making the nominal classification at the same time a system of cultural categorization.

The categorization as proposed here does little more than provide a suggestion by means of which a complicated net work of similarities and differences appears, including an amount of overlap between the classes and categories.⁷

It also provides a reason why this particular cultural scheme cannot be projected into a general model and consequently why a cross-cultural approach would not yield the same results. An heuristic approach was favoured, assuming that the outcome would be sufficiently coherent to speak for itself, pointing out the various structures as schemes into which experiences are encoded in this society. The latter is of importance since in this way a simplification of information is established not only influencing speed and accuracy in the mental process of

7) "Think of the tools in a box, there is a hammer, a saw, a screwdriver, a ruler, a glue pot, nails and screws. The functions of words are as diverse as the functions of these objects and in both cases there are similarities. Of course, what diffuses us is the uniform appearance of words when we hear them spoken". (Wittgenstein 1958).

8) "The important notion is that continued living is only possible if the central nervous system is capable of dealing adequately with all incoming stimuli. Because the brain has an inherently limited capacity for information processing, a simplification of environmental events by continually increased coding of experiences is needed". (Esser 1976:129).

human communication but also facilitating the way in which data about the culture may be collected.⁸

The model as described here only identifies some major categories of elements and does in no way do justice to the enormous diversity and dynamism of life itself.⁹ It is intended as a contribution to the issue, a method for studying aspects of a particular culture by means of a linguistic phenomenon.

In this way the notion is supported that culture is essentially a 'habit which leads to systematic choices'. (Rapoport 1976:258). This work may then be applied as a prerequisite for a system of a folk-science, a system of knowledge about common every-day life, since it concerns these systematic choices as contained in human thought and behaviour, expressed in verbal symbols. At the same time does it indicate perspectives on pragmatic matters by bringing into prominence the way in which the structure of part of a language operates. Some items as mentioned in the system may be pointed out as being divisible into a greater number of categories than others, precisely

9) Life understood in terms of Esser as the 'Potential for experiencing'. (Esser 1976:128).

10) "In this sense anthropological linguistics has a function in the understanding of human behaviour, thus supporting Goodenough's definition of culture in terms of 'what you have to learn to interact in a society', partly because it can be studied by language".

Quoted in: Toward a Cultural Theory of Education and Schooling. E. Gearing. L. Sangree. Mouton. The Hague. 1979:102.

because the social situation in which information about a particular phenomenon is required, demands it, as was illustrated e.g. by the classification of plantains.¹⁰

It so becomes a referential classification, exhibiting various principles which have a certain utility in that community in as far as indicates and maintains part of the organization of the culture of the people concerned. As stated before, culture can be considered to include systems of categories of which culture-bearers are aware and outsiders may not be aware.

The main effort of this study has been to provide a series of such categories from which the complex relation between language and culture is illustrated and transmuted into a system of conceptual categorization. Selecting an instance here and a generalization there necessarily resulted in a rather superficial account in which details regarding the reality of human activity are sacrificed in favour of a general survey of assumptions about the world as experienced in that particular society. As it happens these assumptions serve as a source for the transmission of similar ideas to others and are as such experienced as a middle term between a collection of specific objects and an amount of knowledge and belief.¹¹

11) 'Wherever man and natural products are concerned the 'idea' intervenes. This last has nothing utilitarian about it and governs not only the food of men but their dress also, and the construction of their dwellings and in fact all their physical and material well-being...Between the desires and the needs of man and everything in nature that can be utilized by him, beliefs, ideas, and customs can interpose.....we are

These objects, including the most abstract and non-material phenomena, enter into a cultural pattern as categories of basic material for the understanding of a human society. In this way also the predictive element of these categories is established in as far as they are expressed in language and at the same time in as far as they represent a cognitive model of value judgments.

The exact range of these value categories has not been and perhaps cannot be determined. However, an internal consistency appears to be present in the various classes and so it becomes understandable that 'the elements, categories and structures of grammar do correlate in varying degrees with more or less definitely stable semantic categories and types of meaning'. (Robins 1966:277). Thus man as a meaning-maker exercises his cultivating influence by transforming a range of possibilities into a preferred system of values, indicated by the various prefixes, but basically as a result of standards of living and thinking in that community.¹²

As is the case in every class-language, one ought to keep in mind the irregularities and shifting from one class to another and consequently a certain degrading or

never concerned with 'man' but with human society and its organized groups'.

Febvre. L. A Geographical introduction to History. London, 1925:168.

- 12) "A theory of scientific development must describe a value system and an institutional structure through which it is enforced and transmitted". (Kuhn 1972:21).

upgrading of classes. Often seemingly unexplainable classification of singular nouns occurs. These irregularities point to the fact that by an analysis of the semantic content one cannot rely on prefixes only, but that the complexity of cultural aspects has to be drawn into the discussion. Then it also appears that many nouns can be classified with the help of the system of concords only. In addition to all that has already been said in the course of this study, it may be assumed that some understanding is fostered for the way in which reality is charted by the various classes and categories of the nominal system.

It is a way of studying culture by trying to understand how people envisage their culture world in their own terms. It concentrates on the link which exists between language and culture by making visible underlying conceptual patterns through an analysis of the language.¹³

Although the semantic aspect of language is primarily the scope of linguistics, it is precisely by this semantic function that a link is established to the human world. As such this study demonstrates the fact that divisions, as given by the grammatical nominal classification covers, albeit partly, the terrain that anthropology studies, thus offering a glimpse into Baganda thought and culture.

13) "If categorization is the making visible of some ideal order or conceptual system, than it is also the giving of physical expression to cognitive domains".

(cf. Eliade 1961, Langer 1953, Rose 1968, Keesing 1972. in : Rapoport 1976:258).

Op grond van een taalkundig verschijnsel, het zelfstandige naamwoord, wordt in deze anthropologische studie aandacht besteed aan de relatie tussen taal en cultuur.

De taal in kwestie is Luganda, een van de Bantu talen van Uganda. Het kenmerkende van deze taal manifesteert zich voornamelijk in het gebruik van voorvoegsels bij het zelfstandige naamwoord, dat zich voortzet door een systeem van concordantie in andere onderdelen van de grammaticale structuur. Getracht wordt om met behulp van de indeling op basis van deze voorvoegsels en een verdere indeling op basis van cultureel bepaalde criteria, tegelijkertijd een globaal overzicht te verschaffen van de cultuur waarover deze taal spreekt. Hieraan ligt de gedachte ten grondslag dat taal niet alleen dienst doet om sociale organisatie te vergemakkelijken maar tevens deze organisatie aanduidt. Zo wordt de structuur van de realiteit belicht naar voorbeeld van de structuur van een deel van de taal waarmee men over deze realiteit spreekt, aangezien hetzelfde menselijk intellect te grondslag ligt aan beide.

De werkwijze is gebaseerd op aanwijzingen uit de semantische anthropologie, waar taalkundige modellen de weg aanduiden voor culturele analyse. De klassificatie, begrepen als een indeling van objecten in kleinere categorieën op basis van zowel gegeven als gestelde criteria, pretendeert geen wetenschappelijke taxonomie te zijn doch veeleer een volks-taxonomie d.w.z. een opsomming van levende vormen, objecten en abstracta zoals ervaren in deze

samenleving, tesamen met kontekstuele informatie over hun functie in die samenleving.

Zodoende verrijst een betekenisveld parallel aan de grammaticale klassen, gebaseerd op een kerngedachte door traditie en praktijk aanvaard en gegroeid.

In het hoofdstuk over taal en spraak wordt ervan uitgegaan dat de mens de drang in zich draagt om zich te uiten en dit onder meer realiseert door middel van spraak als een manifestatie van taal. Zo is spraak een vorm van gedrag en als manifestatie van taal onontbeerlijk voor een serieus onderzoek naar de cultuur van de mens als een systeem van inter-persoonlijke organisatie. Hieruit moge blijken de onderlinge afhankelijkheid van de mens, waarbij de taal fungeert als een afspraak, als een sociaal contract op basis van vigerende waarden en normen.

Uit deze waarde-orientatie, in wezen een subjectieve ervaring van voorkeuren, manifesteert zich een beeld van activiteiten van de mens als oorsprong van zijn cultuur. De onderliggende gedachte is hier dat cultuur een abstract orde scheppend begrip is en dat de mens objecten onmiddellijk rangschikt wanneer hij deze ontwaart. Klassificatie maakt deze orde zichtbaar. Zonder deze orde zou er niets zijn dan chaos en misvatting. Deze orde begint met het gebruik van de taal. Zo transformeert de mens de mogelijkheden die zijn omgeving hem biedt in een rangorde van waarden. In deze zin representeert de nominale klassificatie in wezen ook een hiërarchie van waarden, semantische categorieën zo men wil, die uiteindelijk Baganda antwoorden weergeven op hun omgeving en op de cultuur in zijn geheel als de totale som der waarden in die samenleving.

In deze studie is de samenleving onderverdeeld in linguïstische categorieën met inbegrip van het risico daaraan verbonden dat de banden van één onderdeel met de complexiteit van het geheel, verbroken lijken. Het doel was echter een globaal overzicht te verschaffen, zij het op een selectieve en gedisciplineerde subjectieve manier.

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Class		Noun and adjective	Pronoun	Subject prefix	Object infix	Subject relative	Object relative
I	S	omu-	ye	a-	mu-	a-	gwe
	P	aba-	bo	ba-	ba-	aba-	be
II	S	omu-	gwo	gu-	gu-	ogu-	gwe
	P	emi-	gyo	gi-	gi-	egi-	gye
III	S	en-	yo	e-	gi-	e-	gye
	P	en-	zo	zi-	zi-	ezi-	ze
IV	S	eki-	kyo	ki-	ki-	eki-	kye
	P	ebi-	byo	bi-	bi-	ebi-	bye
V	S	eri-	lyo	li-	li-	eri-	lye
	P	ama-	go	ga-	ga-	aga-	ge
VI	S	olu-	lwo	lu-	lu-	olu-	lwe
	P	en-	zo	zi-	zi-	ezi-	ze
VII	S	aka-	ko	ka-	ka-	aka-	ke
	P	obu-	bwo	bu-	bu-	obu-	bwe
VIII	S	otu-	two	tu-	tu-	otu-	twe
IX	S	ogu-	gwo	gu-	gu-	ogu-	gwe
	P	aga-	go	ga-	ga-	aga-	ge
X		awa-	wo	wa-	-wo	awa-	we
XI	S	oku-	kwo	ku-	ku-	oku-	kwe
	P	ama-	go	ga-	ga-	aga-	ge
Locative		e	yo	e-	-yo	e-	gye
On		ku	kwo	ku-	-ko	oku-	kwe
In		mu	mwo	mu-	-mu	omu-	mwe

Details for the schematic survey as represented here have been obtained from:
 J.D. Chesswas. The essentials of Luganda. Nairobi 1967. Père Le Vaux. Manuel
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		P E R S O N A L			P O S S E S S I V E S		
Class		My	Yours	His/Her	Our	Your	Their
I	S	wange	wo	we	waffe	wammwe	waabwe
	P	bange	bo	be	baffe	bammwe	baabwe
II	S	gwange	gwo	gwe	gwaffe	gwammwe	gwabwe
	P	gyange	gyo	gye	gyaffe	gyammwe	gyabwe
III	S	yange	yo	ye	yaffe	yammwe	yaabwe
	P	zange	zo	ze	zaffe	zammwe	zaabwe
IV	S	kyange	kyo	kye	kyaffe	kyammwe	kyabwe
	P	byange	byo	bye	byaffe	byammwe	byabwe
V	S	lyange	lyo	lye	lyaffe	lyammwe	lyabwe
	P	gange	go	ge	gaffe	gammwe	gaabwe
VI	S	lwange	lwo	lwe	lwaffe	lwammwe	lwabwe
	P	zange	zo	ze	zaffe	zammwe	zaabwe
VII	S	kange	ko	ke	kaffe	kanmwe	kaabwe
	P	bwange	bwo	bwe	bwaffe	bwammwe	bwabwe
VIII		twange	two	twe	twaffe	twammwe	twabwe
IX	S	gwange	gwo	gwe	gwaffe	gwammwe	gwabwe
	P	gange	go	ge	gaffe	gammwe	gaabwe
X		wange	wo	we	waffe	wammwe	waabwe
XI	S	kwange	kwo	kwe	kwaffe	kwammwe	kwabwe
	P	gange	go	ge	gaffe	gammwe	gaabwe

P O S S E S S I V E S B E T W E E N C L A S S E S O F N O U N S

Class II Possessor		Class III Possessor		Class IV Possessor		Class V Possessor	
its	their	its	their	its	their	its	their
waagwo	waagyo	waayo	waazo	waakyo	waabyo	waalyo	waago
baagwo	baagyo	baayo	baazo	baakyo	baabyo	baalyo	baago
gwagwo	gwagyo	gwayo	gwazo	gwakyo	gwabyo	gwalyo	gwago
gyagwo	gyagyo	gyayo	gyazo	gyakyo	gyabyo	gyalyo	gyago
yaagwo	yaagyo	yaayo	yaazo	yaakyo	yaabyo	yaalyo	yaago
zaagwo	zaagyo	zaayo	zaazo	zaakyo	zaabyo	zaalyo	zaago
kyagwo	kyagyo	kyayo	kyazo	kyakyo	kyabyo	kyalyo	kyago
byagwo	byagyo	byayo	byazo	byakyo	byabyo	byalyo	byago
lyagwo	lyagyo	lyalyo	lyazo	lyakyo	lyabyo	lyalyo	lyago
gaagwo	gaagyo	gaayo	gaazo	gaakyo	gaabyo	gaalyo	gaago
lwagwo	lwagyo	lwayo	lwazo	lwakyo	lwabyo	lwalyo	lwago
zaagwo	zaagyo	zaayo	zaazo	zaakyo	zaabyo	zaalyo	zaago
kaagwo	kaagyo	kaayo	kaazo	kaakyo	kaabyo	kaalyo	kaago
bwagwo	bwagyo	bwayo	bwazo	bwakyo	bwabyo	bwalyo	bwago
twagwo	twagyo	twalyo	twazo	twakyo	twabyo	twalyo	twago
gwagwo	gwagyo	gwalyo	gwazo	gwakyo	gwabyo	gwalyo	gwago
gaagwo	gaagyo	gaalyo	gaazo	gaakyo	gaabyo	gaalyo	gaago
waagwo	waagyo	waalyo	waazo	waakyo	waabyo	waalyo	waago
kwagwo	kwagyo	kwalyo	kwazo	kwakyo	kwabyo	kwalyo	kwago
gaagwo	gaagyo	gaalyo	gaazo	gaakyo	gaabyo	gaalyo	gaago

POSSESSIVES BETWEEN CLASSES OF NOUNS

Class VI Possessor		Class VII Possessor		Class VIII Possessor		Class IX Possessor	
its	their	its	their	its		its	their
waalwo	waazo	waako	waabwo	waatwo		waagwo	waago
baalwo	baazo	baako	baabwo	baatwo		baagwo	baago
gwalwo	gwazo	gwako	gwabwo	gwatwo		gwagwo	gwago
gyalwo	gyazo	gyako	gyabyo	gyatwo		gyagwo	gyago
yaalwo	yaazo	yaako	yaabwo	yaatwo		yaagwo	yaago
zaalwo	zaazo	zaako	zaabwo	zaatwo		zaagwo	zaago
kyalwo	kyazo	kyako	kyabwo	kyatwo		kyagwo	kyago
byalwo	byazo	byako	byabwo	byatwo		byagwo	byago
lyalwo	lyazo	lyako	lyabwo	lyatwo		lyagwo	lyago
gaalwo	gaazo	gaako	gaabwo	gaatwo		gaagwo	gaago
lwalwo	lwazo	lwako	lwabwo	lwatwo		lwagwo	lwago
zaalwo	zaazo	zaako	zaabwo	zaatwo		zaagwo	zaago
kaalwo	kaazo	kaako	kaabwo	kaatwo		kaagwo	kaago
bwalwo	bwazo	bwako	bwabwo	bwatwo		bwagwo	bwago
twalwo	twazo	twako	twabwo	twatwo		twagwo	twago
gwalwo	gwazo	gwako	gwabwo	gwatwo		gwagwo	gwago
gaalwo	gaazo	gaako	gaabwo	gaatwo		gaagwo	gaago
waalwo	waazo	waako	waabwo			waagwo	waago
kwalwo	kwazo	kwako	kwabwo	kwatwo		kwagwo	kwago
gaalwo	gaazo	gaako	gaabwo	gaatwo		gaagwo	gaago

POSSESSIVES BETWEEN CLASSES OF NOUNS

Class X

Class XI

Possessor

Possessor

of there

its

their

waawo

waakwo

waago

baawo

baakwo

baago

gwawo

gwakwo

gwago

gyawo

gyako

gyago

yaawo

yaakwo

yaago

zaawo

zaakwo

zaago

kyawo

kyakwo

kyago

byawo

byakwo

byago

lyawo

lyakwo

lyago

gaawo

gaakwo

gaago

lwawo

lwakwo

lwago

zaawo

zaakwo

zaago

kaawo

kaakwo

kaago

bwawo

bwakwo

bwago

twawo

twakwo

twago

gwawo.

gwakwo

gwago

gaawo

gaakwo

gaago

kwawo

kwakwo

kwago

gaawo

gaakwo

gaago

SELF - STANDING POSSESSIVES

Mine	Yours	His/Hers	Ours	Yours	Theirs
owange	owuwo	owuwe	owaffe	owammwe	owaabwe
abange	ababo	ababe	abaffe	abammwe	abaabwe
ogwange	ogugwo	ogugwe	ogwaffe	ogwammwe	ogwabwe
egyage	egigyo	egigye	egyaffe	egyammwe	egyabwe
eyange	eyiyo	eyiye	eyaffe	eyammwe	eyaabwe
ezange	ezizo	ezize	ezaffe	ezammwe	ezaabwe
ekyange	ekikyo	ekikye	ekyaffe	ekyammwe	ekyabwe
ebyange	ebibyo	ebibye	ebyaffe	ebyammwe	ebyabwe
eriyange	eriryo	erirye	eryaffe	eryammwe	eryabwe
agange	agago	agage	agaffe	agammwe	agaabwe
olwange	olulwo	olulwe	olwaffe	olwammwe	olwabwe
ezange	ezizo	ezize	ezaffe	ezammwe	ezaabwe
akange	akako	akake	akaffe	akammwe	akaabwe
obwange	obubwo	obubwe	obwaffe	obwammwe	obwabwe
otwange	otutwo	otutwe	otwaffe	otwammwe	otwabwe
ogwange	ogugwo	ogugwe	ogwaffe	ogwammwe	ogwabwe
agange	agago	agage	agaffe	agammwe	agaabwe
awange	awawo	awawe	awaffe	awammwe	awaabwe
okwange	okukwo	okukwe	okwaffe	okwammwe	okwabwe
agange	agago	agage	agaffe	agammwe	agaabwe
Locative					
ewange	ewuwo	ewuwe	ewaffe	ewammwe	ewaabwe

Note: Only the self-standing possessives for the personal pronouns have been enumerated here. They can easily be made up for all the possessives between the classes of nouns by adding the initial vowel to the ordinary possessives.

H.C.G. Merkies werd in maart 1929 te Heerlen geboren. Na de middelbare school studeerde hij filosofie aan het St. Joseph's College te Londen. Vanaf 1958 was hij werkzaam in Uganda in de volgende taalgebieden: Dokolo (Lango), Mulanda (Jopadhola), Soroti (Teso), Magale en Buchunya (Lumasaba en Luganda). In 1971 keerde hij terug naar Nederland en begon hij zijn studie in de Kulturele Anthropologie aan de Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, waar hij in 1974 slaagde voor het doctoraal examen met als hoofdvak Kulturele Anthropologie en als bijvakken Ethnolinguïstiek en Kultuur-psychologie.

Vanaf 1974 tot 1976 was hij in dienst van de Katholieke Hogere School voor Verpleegkundigen als hoofd van de Docentenopleiding. In 1976 werd hij benoemd tot studieadviseur van de faculteit der Geneeskunde en Tandheelkunde. Sinds 1978 fungeerde hij tevens als bestuurslid van het opleidingsinstituut voor Fysiotherapie te Nijmegen.

S T E L L I N G E N

Behorende bij het proefschrift

Ganda Classification, an Ethno-Semantic Survey.

1. Het luganda nominale klassificatiesysteem ondersteunt de thesis geponeerd door J. Wils in: "De nominale klassificatie in de afrikaanse neger-talen" (dissertatie Nijmegen 1935) dat nominale klassen waarderingskategorieën zijn.
2. Semantische anthropologie dient niet in de eerste plaats beoefend te worden als een leerstellige theorie, doch veeleer als een daadwerkelijk relevante wetenschap.
3. Het maatschappelijk welzijn in Uganda is afhankelijk van de wijze waarop men er in slaagt onderling respect tussen de verschillende groeperingen te bevorderen. Een van de voorwaarden hiertoe is dat men elkaar begrijpt en bijgevolg elkaars taal spreekt en verstaat. Invoering van één taal als verplicht onderdeel op de scholen is hiertoe een goede aanzet.
4. Wat de moderne technologie in een ontwikkelingsland tot stand brengt, hangt ten nauwste samen met de filosofie waarmee deze technologie wordt aangewend.
5. Het effect van de methode van participerende observatie zoals aangewend binnen de Kulturele Anthropologie is in hoge mate afhankelijk van de mate waarin de anthropoloog kennis en vaardigheid heeft van de taal of talen in zijn onderzoeksgebied.
6. Inter-kulturele verschillen kunnen aanzienlijk blijken wanneer men de termen onderzoekt waarmee de hoogste waarderungen worden uitgedrukt.

7. Het Christelijk idee dat de mensheid God's rentmeester is over de natuur verschilt kwalitatief van moderne exploitatie.
8. Het studieresultaat van buitenlandse studenten in het begin van hun studie wordt sterk beïnvloed door de mate waarin zij kennis hebben van de Nederlandse taal. Voor deze categorie studenten geen schaduwplaatsen meer beschikbaar te stellen kan het probleem alleen maar verergeren.
9. Gezien de ontwikkelingen in ons huidig maatschappelijk bestel, verdient de Kulturele Anthropologie binnen het leerbereik van de VWO opleidingen gebracht te worden.

